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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF ILLINOIS
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September 17, 1975

To: All Handgun Control Study Chairmen

From: Jeanne Bradner, State Chairman

Attached are the consensus questions, due in the State Office on March 1, 1976. These questions were approved on September 11, by the State Board.

We believe that what we need to know in order to represent you properly is whether you would support handgun control legislation, what you think of the various methods of control suggested and at what level or levels of government you believe these controls (if any) should be legislated.

We have presented these questions to you in a form which we hope you will find to be a clear one. However, we hope that you will not feel that you must confine your comments to the spaces provided. Please attach additional comments, if you have some, to the consensus form, for the more comments we have from you, the more input we will have into determining consensus. We are particularly eager to know just why you would support or oppose the various suggested methods of controlling handguns.

My committee received a copy of questions reprinted from the Library of Congress, Congressional Research Service, Major Issues System, dated May 20, 1975. If you wish to use them for discussion purposes (and it is entirely up to you), you might find them useful to amplify the consensus questions. They might help to facilitate discussion at your units. You do not need to return these specific questions with specific answers; they should just help you to answer the consensus questions. The comments in parenthesis following the Library of Congress questions are mine.

1. Is availability of guns and/or ammunition a major or substantial factor in the violent crime rate? In the incidence of fatal or crippling accidents? (Perhaps you will want to consider this in answering consensus question #1.)
2. If added controls are desirable, which of the many proposed forms should they take? (Consensus question #2)
3. Should such controls be sought at the federal or state level? (or both? or neither? -- this is consensus question #3)
4. Would certain of the proposed controls (if legislated federally) infringe on the police powers that some hold are reserved to the states under the constitution? (Consider this while answering question #3.)
5. Are there constitutional difficulties with respect to the second amendment to the U.S. Constitution (or regarding Article I, Section 22 of the Illinois Constitution? (You might want to consider this in answering both Consensus questions #1 and #3.)
6. Would the benefits of the controls outweigh the inconveniences or resentment they might cause? (Consensus question #2)
7. Practically, can the controls be achieved--e.g., would it be possible to achieve public acquiescence to a law prohibiting private ownership of handguns? What would be the cost? (Question #2)

I'm sure you will have fascinating unit meetings. I wish I could hear each one of them!

September, 1975

League of Women Voters of _____
DUE IN STATE OFFICE MARCH 1, 1976

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF HANDGUN CONTROL

1. Should handguns be controlled through legislation? (Yes or No)

2. Please tell us your opinions of the following methods of controlling handguns.

Please indicate which level or levels of government you believe should legislate those controls (if any) which you support:

(a) banning possession

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____
Reasons for your position: _____

(b) banning manufacture, sale, transportation, importation

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____
Reasons for your position: _____

(c) banning ammunition and components (powder and primers)

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____
Reasons for your position: _____

(d) banning Saturday Night Specials

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(e) registration

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(f) licensing

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(g) permits

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(h) stricter penalties for handgun crimes

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Reasons for your position: _____

LWV OF _____

(i) mandatory sentences

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(j) additional regulation of handgun dealers

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(k) enforcement of existing laws

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(l) handgun safety education

Support _____ Oppose _____ No Opinion _____

Level(s) of government _____

Reasons for your position: _____

(m) other, please explain

3. If you favor handgun controls:

(a) At which of the following level or levels would you prefer to see legislation

Federal? _____
State? _____
County? _____
Local? _____

(b) At which level or levels would you support legislation:

Federal? _____
State? _____
County? _____
Local? _____

(c) Would you support legislation applying only to specific areas of the state, i.e., Cook County, metropolitan areas, "high-crime" areas, "more populated" areas, etc.?

Gun Laws Don't Reduce Crime



MUCH HAS BEEN said in recent years about "the need for gun laws to reduce crime." But those who have been saying it have yet to cite a city or state which has reduced crime by the passage of a gun law—and some 20,000 gun laws, of all degrees of restriction, are in existence in this country. It would seem that the proponents would study these various laws, or those which have been enacted in the past decade, determine which have resulted in a decrease in the crime rates, and push for enactment of a federal law of the same type. But they do not, for they cannot find a law that works [1].

Lacking evidence that gun laws reduce crime, they present statistics which make it appear that the laws reduce crime. For instance a recent *Reader's Digest* article, advocating "gun control," gave only two examples of "successful" gun laws—in Philadelphia and Toledo [2]. It noted that "almost 200" convicted felons, addicts and mental incompetents had been denied a gun license in the first year of the Philadelphia law. But in 1964, the year before Philadelphia's law went into effect, the city's murder rate was 5.4 per 100,000 residents; by 1973 the rate had climbed to 11.5 according to the FBI Crime Reports. Similarly, in those years Philadelphia's robbery rate rose from 75.2 to 232.6 per 100,000 residents. In both categories, the Philadelphia crime rise exceeded the U.S. increase, though the remainder of the nation didn't have such an "effective" law.

Toledo's law was enacted in 1968 and, *Reader's Digest* said, "by 1970 its yearly handgun murder rate had dropped 22 percentage points." That's deceptive, for murder rates are calculated on the number of murders per 100,000 residents, not in percentages. Presumably the writer meant that a smaller percentage of all murders was committed with handguns; but if the percentage of murders with handguns went down, the number of murders with handguns did not: In 1968 there were 28 murders in Toledo; in 1970 there were 36; and in 1973, the latest year for which statistics are available, there were 62 murders [3]. How can anyone look at such an increase and claim that the Toledo law has been successful?

Reader's Digest, which claims to have "some 20 editorial researchers who check, double-check and then check again every comma, word and fact in every issue," stated that there are "27,000 fatal gun accidents" per year. The correct figure is about 2,600, according to the National Safety Council.

The *Reader's Digest* article also stated: "A gun kept by a civilian for protection is six times more likely to kill a family member or friend than an intruder or attacker." That's probably true, for how often is it necessary to *kill* an intruder? By comparing the rarity of actually *killing* an intruder to the number of intra-family murders and home accidents, it's simple to come up with yet another misleading statistic.

A far more significant study is the reduced number of robberies which occur in areas where criminals are aware that the proposed victim is likely to have the means of defending himself. After police trained some 6,000 Orlando, Fla., women in self-defense with firearms, the rape rate was cut in half. Further, there was a decline in both robberies and burglaries—the types of offenses most affected by an armed citizenry. That year Orlando was the only major city to show an overall crime decrease [4]. Store holdups in Highland Park, Mich., dropped from 1.5 per day to *no robberies for four months* after police began a well-publicized firearms training class for merchants [5]. In neither city did those trained citizens kill an attacker or, so far as is known, even display their guns in warding off a robbery or assault.

In 1973, 20 percent of all the murders in the nation occurred in just four cities: Chicago, Detroit, New York City and Washington, D.C. [6], all of which have extremely restrictive gun registration and licensing laws. But the advocates of such laws contend the laws don't work in those cities because: (1) the laws aren't strong enough and (2) "weak" laws in surrounding areas make the strong laws easy to circumvent.

But no law could be "stronger" than New York City's, where virtual handgun prohibition exists—in April 1971 there were only 564 handguns licensed to persons not involved in law

enforcement [7]. Yet despite the most restrictive law in the nation, in 1973 there were almost twice as many murders *with handguns* and more than four times as many robberies *with handguns* as in the remainder of the nation on a per capita basis [8].

During the recent House hearings on firearms laws, the high crime rates in both New York City and Detroit were blamed on Ohio and other states with minimal gun laws. But Ohio has far lower robbery and murder rates than either of the complaining states [9]. If the assumption were correct that gun availability causes or contributes to crime, such crimes should be highest where guns are most available, but studies have shown that "there is no statistically significant difference in crime rates between states that have firearms licensing laws and those that do not" [10].

Undaunted by the failure of gun laws to reduce crime in the U.S., the gun prohibitionists point to the restrictive gun laws and low crime rates of Japan and other selected foreign nations—totally disregarding the immense cultural differences that exist between nations. Handgun murders are extremely rare in Japan, where handguns are banned; however murders with any weapon are rare in Japan. Yet, *Japanese in Tokyo commit more than twice as many murders as Japanese-Americans in the U.S.* [11].

Japanese-Americans are arrested for murder in the U.S. less often than any other ethnic group identified by the FBI Crime Reports, on a per capita basis. In 1973, the murder arrest rate for Japanese-Americans was 0.7 per 100,000 population; for Chinese-Americans the rate was 5.7; for American Indians, 21.0; for Blacks, 46.6; for Whites and "All Others," the rate was 4.2. The figures are quite consistent from year to year [12].

At one time the "gun-controllers" contended that the intended purpose of gun laws was to "keep guns out of the hands of criminals." But since the U.S. Supreme Court held in 1968 that criminals cannot be forced to register illegally possessed guns, due to the Fifth Amendment protection against forced

self-incrimination [13], many have admitted that their aim is to reduce guns in the hands of the general public "because most murders are committed by normally law-abiding citizens during a moment of anger."

That allegation is demonstrably untrue. The head of the Michigan State Police, Col. John R. Plants, has stated that less than one one-hundredth of one percent of the guns used in Michigan crime have been registered as required by Michigan law [14]. Of the 185 handgun murders in Washington, D.C., in 1973 the guns used were recovered in only 84 cases; only 16 had been registered [15]. According to the New York City Police Department, "No homicides were committed by persons using legally licensed firearms (in 1970)" [16].

Since the overwhelming majority of murders in Detroit, D.C. and New York City are committed with illegal guns, it's apparent that the murderers paid no more attention to "Thou shalt not have an unlicensed/unregistered gun" than they did to the far stronger injunction "Thou shalt not kill."

Although the proponents contend that restrictive or prohibitive laws will not adversely affect law-abiding citizens, such claims are entirely false. Completely disregarding the cost to gun owners of license fees, time lost from work, photographs, physicians' statements and other requirements of proposed licensing and registration programs, the cost to the general public would be horrendous. Direct costs to the City of New York for investigating and processing a pistol license application were estimated at \$72.87 in a study prepared for the Violence Commission in 1968 [17]. In mid-1970's dollars that's more than \$100 per gun, and since there are an estimated 40 to 50 million gun owners, the total cost would be \$4 billion to \$5 billion—not including the cost of setting up and operating a computer system second only to the Social Security system. The indirect cost includes the loss of services of countless police officers who would be forced to spend their time investigating law-abiding gun license applicants rather than criminals.

By comparison, prohibition is cheaper. At an average fair market value of \$50, which seems conservative, the government could purchase the estimated 40 million handguns in the country for "only" \$2 billion—not counting the cost of the purchasing staff and destruction system. To pay less than fair market value would be an unconstitutional seizure of property without just compensation.

But the highest price the nation would pay would be the immediate conversion of countless normally law-abiding citizens into law-violators who by oversight or intent refused to turn in their handguns, creating a multitude of scofflaws unequalled since the prohibition of alcohol.

Considering the awesome cost of such so-called gun control, the taxpaying citizen must demand irrefutable evidence that the proposed laws will have the desired effect of reducing crime. The proponents have produced no such evidence.

Footnotes:

[1]—Several studies have purported to show that restrictive gun laws can reduce crime, but none have stood the test of time. For instance, Martin Geisel, et al, in a statistical study based on 1960 to 1965 crime statistics and published in the Duke Law Journal estimated that a firearms owner license law such as enacted in 1966 by New Jersey would "save between 21 and 32 lives per million population per year." In fact, the New Jersey murder rate rose from 3.5 per 100,000 in 1966 to 7.4 in 1973, almost identical to the rise (3.2 to 6.3) in neighboring Pennsylvania, which does not have such a law. The Violence Commission staff found that areas with larger percentages of firearms ownership had a larger percentage of violence committed with firearms, but not necessarily more total violence. However, Prof. Franklin Zimring of the University of Chicago, one of the co-authors of the Violence Commission study, questioned the validity of his earlier findings in a study "Firearms and the Federal Law: The Gun Control Act of 1968" published in January 1975. He wrote: "The sharp rise in the proportion of violence attributable to handguns in northeastern cities (in the past ten years) may lead to modification of the hypothesis that general patterns of handgun ownership determine the extent to which handguns are used in violent

episodes." After commenting that general ownership of firearms may have increased in those areas, he stated "It is more likely that handgun ownership increased substantially among subcultural groups disproportionately associated with violence. . . ." Though Prof. Zimring remains much in favor of extremely restrictive gun laws, he seems to be saying the same thing that we have said: Criminals disobey gun laws. His findings are essentially the same as ours; we differ as to the solution.

[2]—"Safer With A Gun?" by Stephen Oberbeck, **Reader's Digest**, Feb. 1975, condensed from **Good Housekeeping**.

[3]—Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports. The Toledo murder rate in 1968 was 4.1 per 100,000; in 1970, 5.2; in 1973, 8.0. Though there may have been a temporary decline in the percentage of murders committed with firearms, we doubt that it was permanent. No such figures are available from the FBI.

[4]—Source: FBI Reports, 1966, 1967. The training classes were held from September 1966 to May 1967. In the first quarter of 1967 there were three forcible rapes, compared to 33 in the same period in 1966; for the year the rate dropped from 17.1 to 8.1.

[5]—Source: Telephone conversation between the writer and Highland Park Police Chief William Stephens, September 1967.

[6]—Source: FBI Reports, 1973. Chicago, 1,003 murders; Detroit, 861; New York City, 1,741; Washington, D.C., 399; Total 4,004, or 20.5% of the 19,509 murders in the U.S. All four cities require handgun purchase permits and registration; New York City requires licensing of individual guns.

[7]—Letter to the writer, dated April 16, 1971, from Wilfred N. Horne, Deputy Commissioner, Press Relations, New York City Police Department: "At the present time we have 24,354 pistol licenses in force, of which 564 are issued to persons who do not require them as a condition of employment."

[8]—Source: Report of the **New York State Commission of Investigation Concerning the Availability, Illegal Possession and Use of Handguns in New York State** (1974). It states there were "20,422 handgun robberies" and 795 homicides with handguns in New York City in 1973. This is a handgun robbery rate of 258.7 per 100,000 residents; a handgun murder rate of 8.0 per 100,000. Though no exact figures are available for the U.S., surveys indicate that the handgun robbery rate excluding New York City is, at most, 61.7 per 100,000. The FBI Reports state that there were about 10,340 handgun murders in the U.S. in 1973, so the national handgun murder rate outside New York City is about 4.8 per 100,000.

[9]—The witnesses contended that Ohio and South Carolina were principal sources of guns smuggled (in violation of the 1968 Gun Control Act and other laws) into New

York and Michigan. The following table shows the robbery and murder rates for each area, according to the 1973 FBI Reports:

	Murder	Robbery
Ohio	7.3	143.5
South Carolina	14.4	79.2
Michigan	12.1	282.7
Detroit	19.3	470.3
New York	11.1	439.6
New York City	17.5	747.0

[10]—Source: "The Relationship Between Firearms Licensing Laws and Crime Rates," Alan S. Krug, Regional Analysis Center, Pennsylvania State University. Reprinted in the **Congressional Record**, July 25, 1967. The study was a statistical updating of a 1960 study, "The Regulation of Firearms By The States," prepared by the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library. The Wisconsin study found: "From the foregoing statistics it would be difficult to determine the effect that either licensing or non-licensing of firearms has on the extent of crime in a state, particularly the murder rate."

[11]—Handguns are prohibited in Japan to all except the military, police, ballistics researchers and active target shooters (substantially the same as in New York City, see Note 7). According to an article in the Oct. 2, 1971, **New York Times**, "Crime in Tokyo a Minor Problem" by Richard Haloran, there were 213 murders, only three with handguns, in Tokyo in 1970 for a murder rate of 1.9 per 100,000. The U.S. murder arrest rate for Japanese-Americans in 1973, and the five-year average for 1969-73, was 0.7 per 100,000 (see Note 10); since the FBI reports an average of 83.4% of murders cleared by arrest during that period, the average annual rate for murders committed by Japanese-American in 1969-73 was about 0.8 per 100,000, or less than one-half the 1970 rate in Tokyo.

[12]—The FBI Crime Report does not publish the murder arrest rate, but it does publish the number of persons arrested for murder in six ethnic groups. The number of persons arrested in each listed group (extended from the population of reporting areas to the U.S. population) was compared to the 1970 census of each group, providing an accurate murder arrest rate for each. For purposes of calculation the number of arrested persons in the "All Other" category was added to "White"; census totals for the listed groups were subtracted from the U.S. total population to determine the population base for "White" and "All Other." The murder arrest rates for 1972 are quite similar to 1973: Japanese, .9; Chinese, 4.3; Indian, 18.7; Negro, 49.8; White and All Other, 4.0.

[13]—**U.S. vs. Haynes**, 1968. The Supreme Court held that

fear of self-incrimination was a proper defense for failure to register a sawed-off shotgun, since registration under the National Firearms Act of 1935 would amount to admitting violation of provisions of the law which make it illegal to either make or obtain such a weapon. As a result of this decision, the law was amended to provide that information obtained as a result of a registration application could not be used for prosecution. The decision resulted in an even more peculiar feature in the Chicago firearms registration law, which was enacted a day after the decision was published. Under the Chicago law, convicted felons, narcotics addicts, persons with mental disturbances and other categories prohibited by Illinois law from possessing firearms are "ineligible" to register guns. As a result, law-abiding citizens may be prosecuted for possessing an unregistered gun, but a convicted felon may not be.

[14]—Source: "Handgun Ban Hit As Murder Cure," Thomas L. Washington, **Detroit News**, June 20, 1974. (Page 7-B)

[15]—Source: "Gun Control Bill Sent to D.C. Council," LaBarbara Bowman, **Washington Post**, Feb. 12, 1975. (Page A-32)

[16]—Source: Letter from Horne, NYPD. See Note 7.

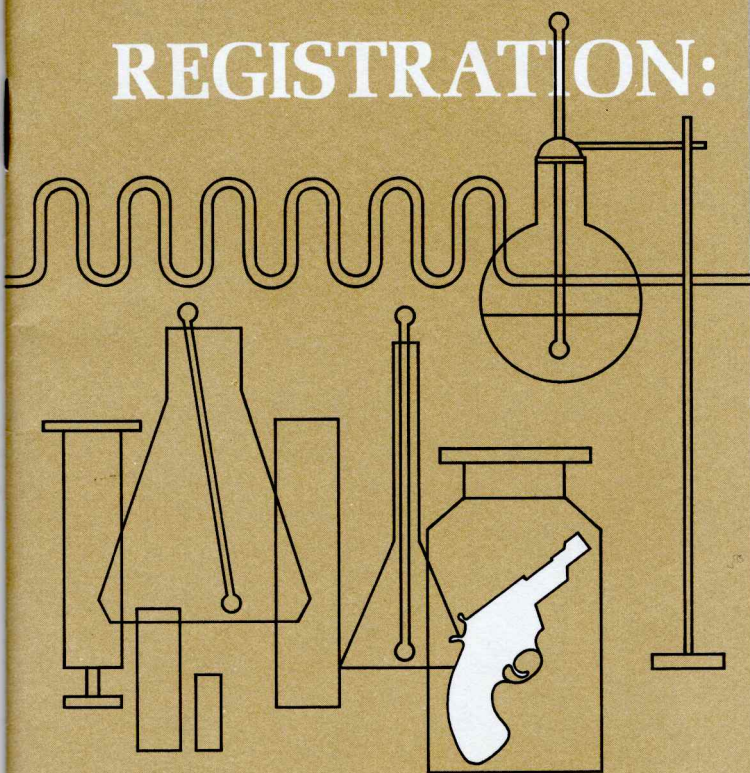
[17]—Source: "A Preliminary Cost Analysis of Firearms Control Programs," prepared for National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence Research Associates, Incorporated (D.C.). The report concludes: "Some of the programs discussed were quite high in cost. The question as to what public benefit would result from them remains, to a large degree, unanswered. Before such programs are adopted, realistic objectives should be clearly defined and unbiased analysis performed to determine their effectiveness and costs in accomplishing these objectives."

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GUN REGISTRATION:



**Costly
Experiment
or
Crime Cure?**

At times, it seems our civilization is hemmed in on all sides by a disheartening array of problems: the economy, international affairs, pollution, public morality — the list goes on and on. And, human nature being what it is, we are presented with an equally great number of simple solutions, which often sound fine in discussion, but may not work so well in practice. In fact, simple solutions have a way of aggravating the very problems they are intended to eliminate.

This booklet is concerned with one such "simple solution," offered as the final answer to the modern ills of armed crime, suicide, murder and accident: firearms registration. Just as prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages was 50 years ago supposed to abolish crime and public immorality, so has the recording of firearms and the licensing of their possessors become today, in some minds, a means for abolishing criminal activity. But as we learned during Volstead's Great Experiment, complex sociological problems are not necessarily conquered with simplistic solutions.

Despite the claims of their advocates, study will show that neither firearms registration nor several of the current forms of gun licensing are automatic solutions. Serious study will show that there is little reason to believe that such measures do or can reduce crime; and there is abundant evidence that the cost will be enormous, possibly including an increase in crime.

As is so often the case, there are major problems within the "simple solution," such as:

1. Both firearms registration and licensing have been variously tried. There is yet to be a provable case of these measures having had the desired effect: reduction of the crime rates.

2. Since the total number of guns is usually estimated at between 100 and 200 million, and these frequently change hands, the federal registration/licensing computer complex would be second in size only to the Social Security system.

3. The direct cost of licensing each gun owner — if a thorough investigation such as conducted in New York City were required — would have been \$72.87 back in 1968, according to government-sponsored research. With inflation, the cost today would be more than \$100 per gun owner, of which there are an estimated 40 to 50 million, so the total cost of the original investigation could be \$4 to \$5 billion!

4. Since countless experienced police officers would spend their time investigating or processing gun-owning legitimate citizens rather than doing their usual jobs of investigating and preventing crimes, among the indirect costs would be a possible increase in crime and a federally mandated increase in the size, hence the cost, of state and local police departments.

5. While advocated as a means of keeping guns out of the hands of criminals, firearms registration can apply only to the law-abiding; criminals prohibited from possessing firearms cannot be required to register them, since that would be a form of forced self-incrimination, as the Supreme Court indicated in *Haynes vs. U.S.*

These points indicate some of the reasons why sportsmen so strongly oppose firearms registration laws. There are others, not the least of which is the avowed objective of at least one legislator to enact firearms registration laws in order to implement a future confiscation law.

WE REGISTER CARS, WHY NOT GUNS?

Gun registration is often equated by anti-firearms activists with the simple registering of automobiles, and the licensing of gun owners is likened to acquiring a driver's license. But there is no valid comparison. An essential purpose of auto registration is taxation, while safety on the highways is the reason for driver licensing. Both are laudable

intentions, but both are unrelated to crime. For all their insurance provisos and the simple driver test, these laws do not attempt to reduce significantly either the number of cars or drivers, yet that is the stated purpose of gun registration and licensing proposals. If a gun registration law simply required notifying police that a certain firearm were possessed, many sportsmen wouldn't object — though they wouldn't expect crime to be reduced, any more than auto registration has prevented the use of cars in criminal acts.

Actually, gun registration has in various forms existed throughout the U.S. since 1938, for firearms dealers since the 1930's have been required to record the name and address of all purchasers. And since the enactment of the Gun Control Act of 1968 supplementary information, identification and a penalty-of-perjury form, including a physical description, have been required for all retail sales. Some states and communities require that this information be forwarded to local police authorities. However, the Treasury 4473 Form does not satisfy some advocates of "gun control." They insist that every prospective purchaser and present owner be thoroughly investigated and, further, that he convince the authorities that he has a need for the firearm. If car registration were truly like gun registration, would we have to prove that we needed a car?

New York State and some municipalities require licensing and listing of each handgun, subject to police discretion, while various other cities and states, including Massachusetts, New Jersey and Illinois, require a firearms owner license or identification card, which is valid for any number of guns of whatever type. The principal difference is that in the latter states the ownership permit is, in theory at least, automatically granted to those who are not specifically prohibited from firearms possession, such as convicted felons, narcotics addicts, mental incompetents, or certain other categories. Again, however, the advocates of highly restrictive firearms laws are often not satisfied unless the law allows police

to deny a license for any reason, or no reason. Is this true of automobile papers?

Even in areas where the law seems to provide for automatic issuance except for specific cause, sportsmen often have problems in acquiring the license due to obstructionism by police or the issuing authority. There are countless cases of "lost" applications, petty harassments requiring repeated trips to different offices during normal working hours, which force the applicant to take time off from his job, and less subtle indications of police disapproval of anyone having a gun. One Connecticut big-city police chief acquired a national reputation for such intransigence. In one classic New York instance of administrative defeat of the law's intent, a young lawyer, an ex-Marine officer, was prevented from obtaining permission for a target-shooting pistol for six months by a conglomeration of excuses from a Westchester County police chief who happened to dislike guns. The lawyer got his gun permit only after threatening to go to court, which most citizens can't afford to do. Like-minded police chiefs in New Jersey have simply refused to make the application forms available, a ploy which became so widespread that in early 1974 the state senate passed a bill — after bitter debate — which demanded that would-be gun owners be given an opportunity to apply. Finally, there are many cases of non-police agencies, such as mental health facilities, refusing to provide the legally required searches of their records because of "lack of funds," "lack of personnel" or other reasons or excuses, thereby preventing the issuance of registration certificates or licenses. Does this happen with automobile papers?

In some cities requiring permits to purchase handguns, the number of permits issued each year ranges from none to only a dozen or so to citizens with extraordinary wealth, influence or political clout. Yet while the average citizen cannot possibly obtain handgun permits in such areas, criminals sometimes obtain not only purchase permits, but license to carry — as witness the infamous Appalachian meet-

ing of Mafia leaders in 1957, where eleven of those arrested carried guns with New York Sullivan Law permits.

The long history of practical problems with gun registration and licensing laws helps explain why such proposals are so strongly opposed by sportsmen. To be sure, there exist communities where gun laws are enforced with fairness and without discrimination, but how is it possible to make this true everywhere?

'REASONABLE' GUN LAWS

Almost everyone is in favor of "reasonable" gun laws; the disagreement lies in defining what is reasonable. Even New York City's gun laws, the most prohibitive in the nation, have been described as reasonable. As evidence, the advocates of a similar national law point out the relatively large number of permits which are in force. But the overwhelming majority of those permits are issued to bank guards, night watchmen and others involved in some phase of law enforcement. A letter dated April 16, 1971, from Wilfred N. Horne, Deputy Commissioner, Press Relations, New York City Police Department, advised Neal Knox, editor of *Handloader* and *Rifle* magazines: "At the present time we have 24,354 pistol licenses in force, of which 564 are issued to persons who do not require them as a condition of employment." In a city of eight million, how reasonable is 564?

In 1968, the Johnson Administration introduced a bill calling for the registration of all firearms and the licensing of all owners. In each session since, that bill has been refurbished and reintroduced, always with a description of how reasonable it is. The leading Senate sponsor of that archetypal bill is Senator Edward Kennedy (Mass.), who has repeatedly stated that the bill would not adversely affect law-abiding citizens, other than causing them a few "minor inconveniences." But some wonder whether he has

studied the bill, for it provides that no firearms license shall be issued to anyone "who has been convicted in any court of a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term exceeding one year." That provision would prevent the senator himself from possessing even a skeet gun, since the Chappaquiddick tragedy in which he was convicted is, under Massachusetts law, punishable by two years imprisonment. It seems doubtful that public safety would be enhanced by denying a firearm to the senator, or to any other reputable citizen who has, at some time in his life, run afoul of the law through accident, ignorance, or carelessness.

It is not this booklet's purpose to analyze all the provisions of that bill, but let's consider just one: In addition to requiring among other things, a statement from the chief local law enforcement officer that the applicant isn't prohibited from possessing a firearm, a complete set of fingerprints, a photograph, and a \$1 fee, the bill proposes that the applicant for the firearms owner's license must present "a statement . . . signed by a licensed physician, that in his professional opinion such person is mentally and physically capable of possessing and using a firearm safely and responsibly." How many doctors would be willing to sign such a document? For that matter, how could a physician have a truly professional opinion on all those matters unless he were also both a psychiatrist and a professional firearms safety instructor?

It's worth noting that although this would be a federal law, it would not be paid for by the federal government — for local officials would have to do the required investigation of the gun owner. But if a state refuses to enact a law meeting the federal requirement, the federal government would administer it; as a penalty, the state would lose its share of the federal game conservation funds provided by shooters' excise tax dollars from guns and ammunition — totalling some \$45 million per year. Some might view that as blackmail.

How reasonable then is the typical registration and licensing bill?

DON'T STUDIES SHOW THAT GUN LAWS WORK?

There are an estimated 20,000 firearms laws, of all degrees of severity, in the country. Surely it should be feasible to study the crime rates and gun laws of the various states and cities to determine what types of laws — if any — have proved effective in controlling crime. In fact, considering the millions of dollars spent by congressional committees, Presidential commissions and governmental agencies studying crime and means of preventing it, it is hard to conceive that some unbiased, independent research agency has not been engaged to make such a study. But the fact is that no federally sponsored independent research organization structured to operate without bias has studied the effect of gun laws upon crime rates.

The first unbiased research study which directly addressed the question of gun laws vs. crime rates was conducted back in 1960 by the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, at the request of the Wisconsin Legislature. After comparing the rates for different types of crime to each state's firearms laws, as well as to population density, educational level and per capita income, it concluded: "From the foregoing statistics it would be difficult to determine the effect that either licensing or non-licensing of firearms has on the extent of crime in a state, particularly on the murder rate." The researchers noted no relationship between murder rate and population density, but they did note an apparent relationship between murder and both educational levels and median income.

Considering the findings of the Wisconsin study, it might be enlightening if the FBI Crime Reports were to include information on educational and income levels of the persons ar-

rested for crime, particularly crimes of violence. Such statistics might pinpoint certain root causes of crime, and give guidance in implementing effective crime prevention methods. Though no such statistics are available on a national basis, the nation's most readily identifiable educationally and economically deprived group is involved in a disproportionate percentage of violent crimes, both as perpetrators and, alas, as victims. According to the 1972 FBI Report, although only about 11 per cent of the U.S. population is black, 60.5 per cent of the persons arrested for murder are black, as are 53 per cent of murder victims. Though no figures on the racial or national origin of victims of crimes other than murder are maintained by the FBI, a recent victimization study by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration showed that blacks are victims of a high percentage of all violent crimes; likewise 66.7 per cent of those arrested for robbery and 53.7 per cent of those arrested for all violent crimes belong to this minority. Sobering figures like these suggest that socio-economic factors may relate more closely to crime than does the simple availability of firearms.

In 1968, Alan S. Krug, an economist on the staff of Pennsylvania State University, expanded the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library's study by preparing a statistical analysis of the then-available latest FBI crime statistics in comparison to state firearms laws. His study concluded "*there is no statistically significant difference in crime rates between states that have firearms licensing laws and those that do not.*" Since, like those of the Wisconsin study, Krug's findings were contrary to prevailing dogma, the study was sharply criticized for bias.

Later in that same year, Krug published a statistical analysis of firearms ownership as related to crime rates. As Krug stated, "*if the availability of firearms were indeed a cause of crime, crime rates should rise and fall fairly consistently with rates of firearms ownership. States where a high proportion of the population possesses firearms would be expected to*

have higher crime rates than states where a lesser proportion of the population owns firearms." As an index for the ownership of firearms by states, Krug had no choice but to use the number of hunting licenses sold in each state, there being nowhere reliable data on local ownership of guns other than those used by licensed hunters. Not only did Krug find that crime is not proportional to firearms ownership in that category, he noted that "*as the proportion of the population possessing hunting-used firearms goes down, crime rates go up.*" As he said, these "*statistically significant*" findings "*lend strength to the argument that wide-spread ownership of firearms may actually lessen crime.*"

In 1969, Martin Geisel and Richard Roll of the economics department of Carnegie-Mellon University and R. Stanton Wettick, Jr., of the University of Pittsburgh Law School prepared a statistical analysis which attempted to relate gun laws directly to crime rates. Noting "*the lack of reliable empirical information describing the relationship between gun control legislation and death and crime rates,*" the authors gave a numerical weighting to various types of firearms laws, as well as to factors such as per capita income, education and population density, and related these factors to murder, suicide, assault and robbery rates for the years 1960 and 1965. The authors concluded that while gun laws would not reduce robbery, such laws would save lives by reducing the murder and suicide rates. The study stated that legislation such as had been enacted in New Jersey in 1966, requiring a firearms owner license or identification card, "*saves between 21 and 32 lives per million population per year.*"

That was a bold statement; time proved it incorrect. Between 1965 and 1972, New Jersey's murder rate doubled, surpassing the rate of neighboring Pennsylvania. In 1967, Illinois also passed a firearms owner licensing law. Its murder rate has grown apace with the national rate, while neighboring Indiana has shown a startling decrease, without the benefits of such a law. Though many factors are at work in contributing to crime, the only factors

measured by the study which substantially changed in this short period were the states' gun laws, and they failed to produce the predicted results. On the basis of empirical evidence such as the study sought to develop, the conclusions of the study are shown to be invalid.

ENGLAND & U.S.: APPLES & ORANGES

Lacking any evidence that gun laws have been successful in curbing crime anywhere in the United States, the advocates of registration and licensing have turned to a comparison of the crime rates in the U.S. with those of other countries. Such a comparison cannot be valid, for too many differences exist between countries to attempt to weigh the value of any one factor. Nevertheless, a favorite comparison is the crime rates of the United States and England. But, if any such comparison were to be made, it would be at least as accurate to compare London to New York, for the cities are approximately the same size and have similar gun laws — although those of New York are more restrictive. In 1972, there were 113 murders in London (and 172 in all England and Wales, only 27 of which involved firearms), while there were 1,725 in New York City. Firearms laws cannot explain the difference, for while there are only about 500 privately held legal handguns in New York City, there are about 4,000 in London. If non-firearm murders are compared, there were about 850 in New York City to about 100 in London. Obviously factors other than gun possession are involved, otherwise the non-firearm murder rates of the two cities would be similar.

Of more significance than such comparisons of incomparables is a study of the effect of firearms laws in England, as conducted at the University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology by Chief Inspector Colin Greenwood of the West Yorkshire Constabulary, and detailed in his book, *Firearms Control* (Routledge and Kegan Paul). After examination of England's

laws and all crime statistics available, Inspector Greenwood concludes: "No matter how one approaches the figures, one is forced to the rather startling conclusion that the use of firearms in crime was very much less when there were no controls of any sort and when anyone, convicted criminal or lunatic, could buy any type of firearms without restriction. Half a century of strict controls on pistols has ended, perversely, with a far greater use of this class of weapon in crime than ever before." After noting that none of the police agencies contacted could cite an instance of registration laws having assisted in the solution of a crime, and further noting that the laws may have been counter-productive due to the "vast amount of police time and effort spent" in administering gun laws, he states: "it should surely be for the proponents of the system of registration to establish its value. If they fail to do so, the system should be abandoned."

Sportsmen would welcome a similar unbiased official study of the effectiveness of firearms laws in the U.S. And, as Inspector Greenwood states, if such laws cannot be proved effective, they should be abandoned.

FIGURES DON'T LIE, BUT LIARS CAN FIGURE

The average citizen is under the impression that not only have studies been conducted, but that they prove that gun laws are effective in controlling crime. This misconception must be blamed on the promoters of simplistic crime cures, perhaps aided and abetted by certain news media people who have failed to check the facts.

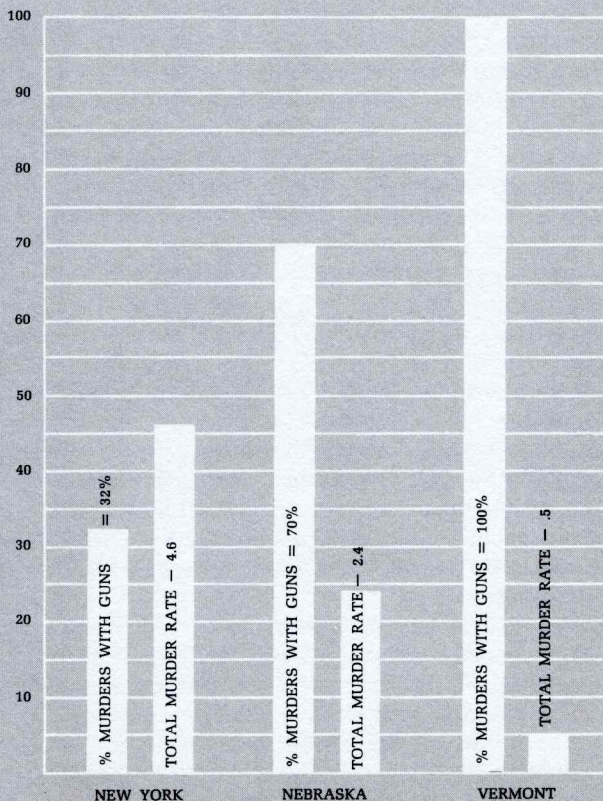
One device having the effect of fooling the public was the coining of the term "gun murder rate," which refers to the percentage of murders committed with guns. The "gun murder rate" has nothing to do with the FBI "murder rate," which is a count of murders per 100,000 residents. The confusing term "gun

murder rate" resulted from an FBI study of the percentage of murders committed with firearms in various states during the years 1962-1965, disregarding the number of murders.

As an example of how misleading the term is, in 1967 the late Senator Thomas Dodd compared the gun laws and "gun murder rates" of New York and Nebraska, the home state of his principal adversary in Judiciary Committee deliberations, Senator Roman Hruska. As the graph shows, New York State, with its much-admired low "gun murder rate" had a per capita murder rate almost twice as high as Nebraska, where the "gun murder rate" was the second highest in the nation.

How To Distort Statistics:

Talk about "Gun Murder Rate"
Not "Murder Rate"



From an FBI study for the years 1962-1965; murder rate is for the year 1965. Source: FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin; FBI Uniform Crime Reports.

To more easily understand the difference between the per capita murder rate and the "gun murder rate," consider that during the four-year study period Vermont reported only seven murders, all of them committed with firearms. So its "gun murder rate" was 100 per cent, the highest in the nation. But its per capita murder rate in 1965 was the lowest in the nation. Which then is more important, the number of murders, or the percentage committed with guns?

If the senator had been right, if gun laws did indeed reduce crime, there should have been fewer murders in the state he praised for its registration controls than in the states that he chastised for their "minimal gun laws." The truth is, the picture was exactly the opposite what he had claimed, and it is still exactly opposite today: The New York per capita murder rate in 1972 was 11.0 per 100,000 residents, in Nebraska it was 2.9, and in Vermont 1.7.

It's a simple matter for anyone to select statistics from the FBI Uniform Crime Reports in order to prove a point, but bear in mind that we didn't select the above example, the Connecticut senator did.

At another time, the late Senator selected five cities — Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, Philadelphia and New York — as examples of having "good gun control laws," and low "gun-crime" and murder rates. Naturally, his two "bad example" cities — Dallas and Phoenix — had high "gun crime" and murder rates. As you might suspect, his term "gun-crime," like the term "gun murder rate," refers to the percentage of crimes committed with guns, not the per capita crime rate. If the gun control crusader had been right, his "bad example" cities should have experienced increases in their robbery and murder rates, while his "good examples" should have experienced decreases, particularly since three of the six have in the interim enacted even more restrictive laws.

But as the table shows, while the national averages showed a 74 per cent increase in murder rates and a 263 per cent increase in

robbery rates, the senator's "good examples" increased their murder rates an average of 186 per cent — 2.5 times the national increase — and increased their average robbery rate 274 per cent.

Sen. Dodd's
"Good Example" Cities
1960-1972

		Murder*	Robbery*
Chicago	1960	6.7	237.5
	1972	11.5	373.8
	% Incr.	71%	57%
Los Angeles	1960	4.4	143.9
	1972	12.8	377.7
	% Incr.	191%	162%
Detroit	1960	5.1	130.6
	1972	17.3	507.1
	% Incr.	239%	288%
Philadelphia	1960	4.8	62.3
	1972	10.7	254.7
	% Incr.	123%	308%
New York City	1960	4.0	64.2
	1972	19.1	877.4
	% Incr.	376%	1,267%

Sen. Dodd's
"Bad Example" Cities

		Murder*	Robbery*
Dallas	1960	10.1	57.9
	1972	14.0	172.6
	% Incr.	39%	198%
Phoenix	1960	7.5	70.2
	1972	9.5	149.6
	% Incr.	26%	113%
U.S. Total	1960	5.1	49.6
	1972	8.9	179.9
	% Incr.	74%	263%

*(Rate per 100,000 population)

Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports 1960, 1972.

And the "bad example" cities, which still have minimal firearms laws, had a murder rate increase of 34 per cent, a robbery rate increase of 151 per cent — both figures about half the national growth in crime. Note that two of the "good example" cities now have murder rates higher than Dallas, all have murder rates higher than Phoenix, and all have robbery rates from 1.5 to 7.5 times as great as the "bad example" cities. Again, we didn't select the examples, Senator Dodd did. Remember also we are not commenting on the late senator's attitudes on firearms, but rather on the way figures can fool us.

The former mayor of New York, John Lindsay, consistently claimed that the only reason his city's repressive gun control laws didn't work was because of the more lenient gun laws in other cities and states. While it is true that many of the guns illegal in New York City come from other areas, these arms can be obtained, smuggled in, and possessed only at the price of violating a host of federal, state and local laws. The mayor never explained why the enactment of yet another law would prevent the violation of such existing laws. Neither has he explained why Gotham's crime rates are so much higher than those of cities and states with lenient gun laws. New York's 1972 murder rate, 19.1, is higher than that of any other city of over a million population except Atlanta; its robbery rate is so high that it distorts the national average — 21 per cent of all robberies reported to police in the entire United States during 1972 occurred in New York City!

While few politicians have deliberately misconstrued the effectiveness of gun laws, evidence appears that some may have. In most cases, any such mistruths have stemmed from a deep conviction that gun laws are needed to reduce the use of guns in crime; unfortunately, that "deep conviction" is based on emotion rather than objective study. There may well be politicians who, whether or not convinced of the need for strict gun laws, have found the gun control issue a handy device to "take off the heat." Faced with the seemingly impos-

sible task of curbing crime, it is easy for local leaders to find it advantageous to blame the lawmakers up in the state capital, or in far-off Washington, for their failure to pass "effective gun laws," thereby diverting attention from local crime.

WHAT COST GUN CONTROL?

While objective study will show that, as presently proposed, registration laws are of doubtful value, if not useless, in controlling crime, there can also be no doubt that the cost of the experiment would be huge.

The advocates of such gun control laws state that the only program likely to be effective — short of outright prohibition — is a law such as New York City's, which requires a thorough police investigation of each applicant as a prelude to issuing the gun permit. In 1968, Research Associates Incorporated (D.C.) prepared a study entitled "A Preliminary Cost Analysis of Firearms Control Programs" for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. This was the study which calculated the cost of processing a New York City handgun permit at \$72.87; or in terms of mid-1970 dollars, better than \$100 per gun owner. Since there are an estimated 40 to 50 million gun owners, the direct cost of the initial investigations and police administration, as has already been indicated, would be \$4 billion to \$5 billion! To put that huge sum into perspective, the total amount spent in the United States for law enforcement during 1972 was \$11.7 billion. That includes expenditures by the federal government, states, counties and cities for police protection, the courts, legal services and prosecution, indigent defense, prisons, corrections programs and various other criminal justice programs.

The estimated \$4 billion to \$5 billion for initial investigations of gun owners alone does not include the setup costs of the program or the annual operating cost of the needed federal computer system. That was estimated at

\$22.5 million in 1968, based on 40 million gun owners and 75 million guns. Almost certainly, the cost was grossly understated, even in terms of 1968 dollars. One computer expert, writing in *Datamation*, has estimated "it would take at least two years to complete the project and would involve a staff of several hundred people." It would, he said, require a "team of qualified experts at least six months just to devise a workable system."

But the proposed federal licensing and registration law mentioned earlier calls for every firearm owner to have been investigated and licensed, and every firearm to have been registered in the federal computer, within one year of the law's passage, with a license renewal each three years. Could it be that the drafters of such bills give about as much consideration to the mechanics of implementing the program as they have to a study of the effectiveness of such laws?

Nor do these costs include the indirect costs to the gun owner in the form of time away from work, or the charge for supplying fingerprints, photographs, a physician's statement, or other red tape which might be required. Of even greater significance, do they consider the cost in increased crime due to police time spent in investigating the law-abiding instead of criminals, or the very real possibility that some states would give up their wildlife restoration funds rather than underwrite the cost of such an expensive program?

The writer of the "Cost Analysis" concluded: "Some of the programs discussed were quite high in cost. The question as to what public benefit would result from them remains, to a large degree, unanswered. Before such programs are adopted, realistic objectives should be clearly defined and unbiased analyses performed to determine their effectiveness and costs in accomplishing these objectives."

ONLY THE LAW-ABIDING NEED APPLY

While the ostensible objective of most registration/licensing laws is to keep guns out of the hands of criminals, common sense says that the criminal won't register his guns. And the U.S. Supreme Court has said he doesn't have to.

In January 1968, the court ruled that a felon possessing a firearm illegally could not be prosecuted for failing to register it under the National Firearms Act, since to do so would be an admission of the illegal possession — and forced self-incrimination is a violation of the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution. This landmark decision, *Haynes vs. U.S.*, was handed down on the very day the Chicago City Council was scheduled to pass a gun registration law.

After a day's delay, that law was passed with a unique amendment — persons with criminal, narcotics or mental records, all prohibited by federal or Illinois law from possessing firearms, were exempted from the registration requirements. While an otherwise law-abiding citizen can be convicted of possessing an unregistered gun in Chicago, a convicted criminal cannot be. So at whom was the Chicago law aimed?

Federal laws long on the books also had to be changed as a result of the *Haynes Decision*, again in a most revealing way: The National Firearms Act of the 1930's now provides that no information or evidence obtained as a result of required registration can be used to prosecute violation of law occurring prior to or concurrently with the act of registration.

As a result of the *Haynes Decision* either (1) criminals will not have to register any firearms they possess or (2) information in the registration application cannot be used to prosecute illegal possession prior to registration. But this doesn't really change anything, for what criminal would be so stupid as to register possession of an illegal gun?

THE BASIC QUESTIONS

The Volstead Act and the Prohibition Era are history. The problems and failures of that Great Experiment have come to be little more than folklore. But the very human passion for simple solutions to complex problems is still very much with us. And while Senator Volstead is no longer in our midst, his spiritual descendants live on in those who advocate gun control legislation of questionable merit. Once again, in an emotion-charged atmosphere, too many people have thought, "Perhaps it will help," but have forgotten to say, "What's the cost?" and "Will it surely work?" We feel those are questions vital to the future of the sportsman and of our nation.

For additional information, write to:

National Shooting Sports Foundation
1075 Post Road
Riverside, Conn. 06878
Phone: 203-637-3618

National Rifle Association of America
1600 Rhode Island Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone: 202-783-6505



National Shooting Sports Foundation
1075 Post Road
Riverside, Conn. 06878
Phone: 203-637-3618



695 South Elwood St.
Forsyth, IL 62535
November 18, 1975

Alden G. Barber, Chief Scout Executive
Boy Scouts of America
North Brunswick, NJ 08902

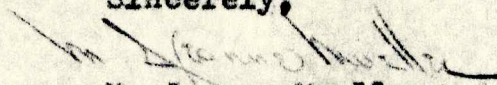
Dear Mr. Barber:

We have noted the presence of firearms advertisements in Boys' Life. The magazine was recommended by the Decatur B.S.A. office when our sons signed up for Cub Scouts. We understand that all editorials and advertisements in the magazine are approved by B.S.A. We object to the firearms advertisements therein for the following reasons:

- 1) Inappropriate in a magazine addressed to children.
- 2) Irresponsibility in presenting lethal weapons as if they were harmless toys.
- 3) Disregard for existing laws (in Illinois) by implying that a child can own a gun.
- 4) Assumption that gun ownership is natural for boys.

In our pluralistic society the validity of privately owned armaments is being questioned. We do not wish to become embroiled in this debate. We believe that gun ownership is an adult issue and we object to the indoctrination of children by the firearms industry.

Sincerely,



M. Jeanne Mueller

cc: R.E. Hood; Editor, Boys' Life
D. Dickerson; B.S.A., Decatur, IL

Community

Decatur, Illinois, Friday, September 11, 1981

Gun control opposition rules at MU hearing

By BOB SAMPSON

Gun control legislation was overwhelmingly opposed Thursday night by some 60 people attending a public hearing at Millikin University.

Held in the Kirkland Fine Arts Center Gallery, the hearing was before a special subcommittee of the Illinois House of Representatives Judiciary II Committee.

State Rep. Emil J. Boucek, R-Western Springs, chairman of the special subcommittee, said the Decatur hearing was one of several being held around the state. Another will be in Effingham tonight.

Under consideration by Boucek's special subcommittee are 11 bills dealing with various forms of gun control, ranging from banning so-called Saturday Night Specials to prohibiting the sale of air pistols to youths under age 18.

But with the exception of one proponent, everyone testifying indicated they wanted less, rather than more, gun control legislation.

"I for one have no intention of giving up my gun," said former state Rep. Webber Borchers of Decatur.

"I'd rather go to jail or fight it out than give up my guns."

Others echoed Borchers, vowing to fight rather than turn in their guns, though none of the pending bills calls for gun confiscation.

State Rep. Michael J. Tate, R-Decatur, who requested the hearing, said he opposed many of the proposed bills.

"I'm concerned about bills that put the onus on the gun and not the criminal," he said.

But Margaret Coberly of Decatur, representing the local chapter of the League of Women Voters, spoke in support of tougher gun laws. As chairman of the local league's criminal justice study committee, she outlined the league's position.

"We as U.S. citizens are concerned about the increasing violence in American society," she said.

"We'd support legislation to ban firearms manufacture and sale, or the import of handguns and their parts."

She also advocated stronger fire-

arms owner registration laws and "licensing to include qualifications" for gun owners.

Many witnesses took the approach of Skip Perry of Manticello, president of the Piatt County Sportsmen's Club.

Perry called for cracking down on criminals rather than guns as the best solution to the rising incidence of violence.

Included in his prescription were restoration of the death penalty and stiff, mandatory sentences for those convicted of use of firearms in the commission of a crime.

Perry, however, opened the door to some new gun control legislation. "I'm opposed to gun laws," he said. "But I do believe there is room for a very specific piece of legislation as it relates to very cheap handguns. Guns that are not accurate and are a danger in the hands of anyone."

That door was quickly slammed shut by the next witness, Ross Thompson of Decatur.

"A Saturday Night Special is a term that has become a code word," he contended, referring to the popular title for cheap handguns.

"How do you define them? A Saturday Night Special is whatever someone chooses to define it as, rather than just a piece of junk."

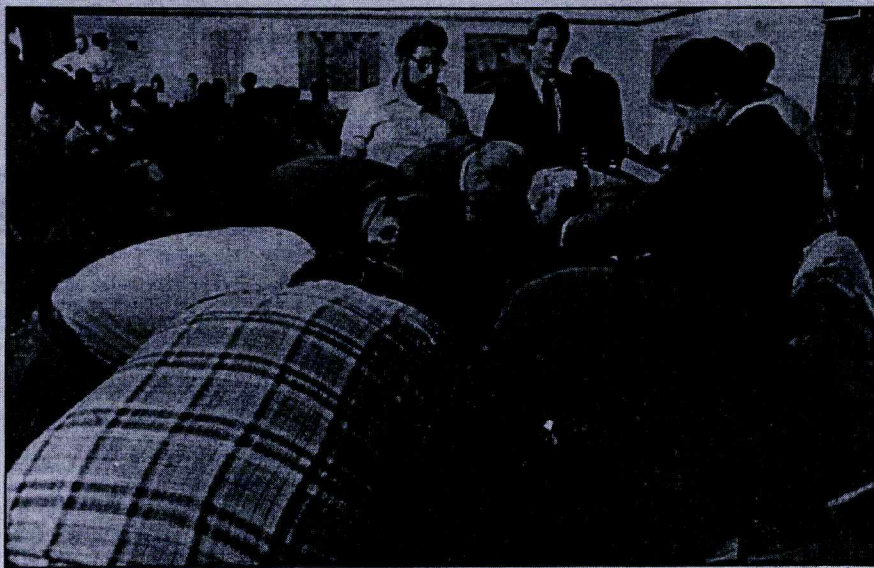
Dave Phillips of Decatur asked the panel to consider a law that "would allow us to protect life and property without fear of (legal) recrimination."

Others also expressed the feeling that present laws could punish them for using a firearm to protect their families.

Also participating in the hearings by the special subcommittee were Reps. Redd Griffin, R-Oak Park, and Frank A. Martire, R-Chicago. State Sen. James Rupp, R-Decatur, also attended.



Rep. Boucek



Gun control opponents sign up to testify as Rep. Michael Tate looks on.

Photos by Herb Stodounik

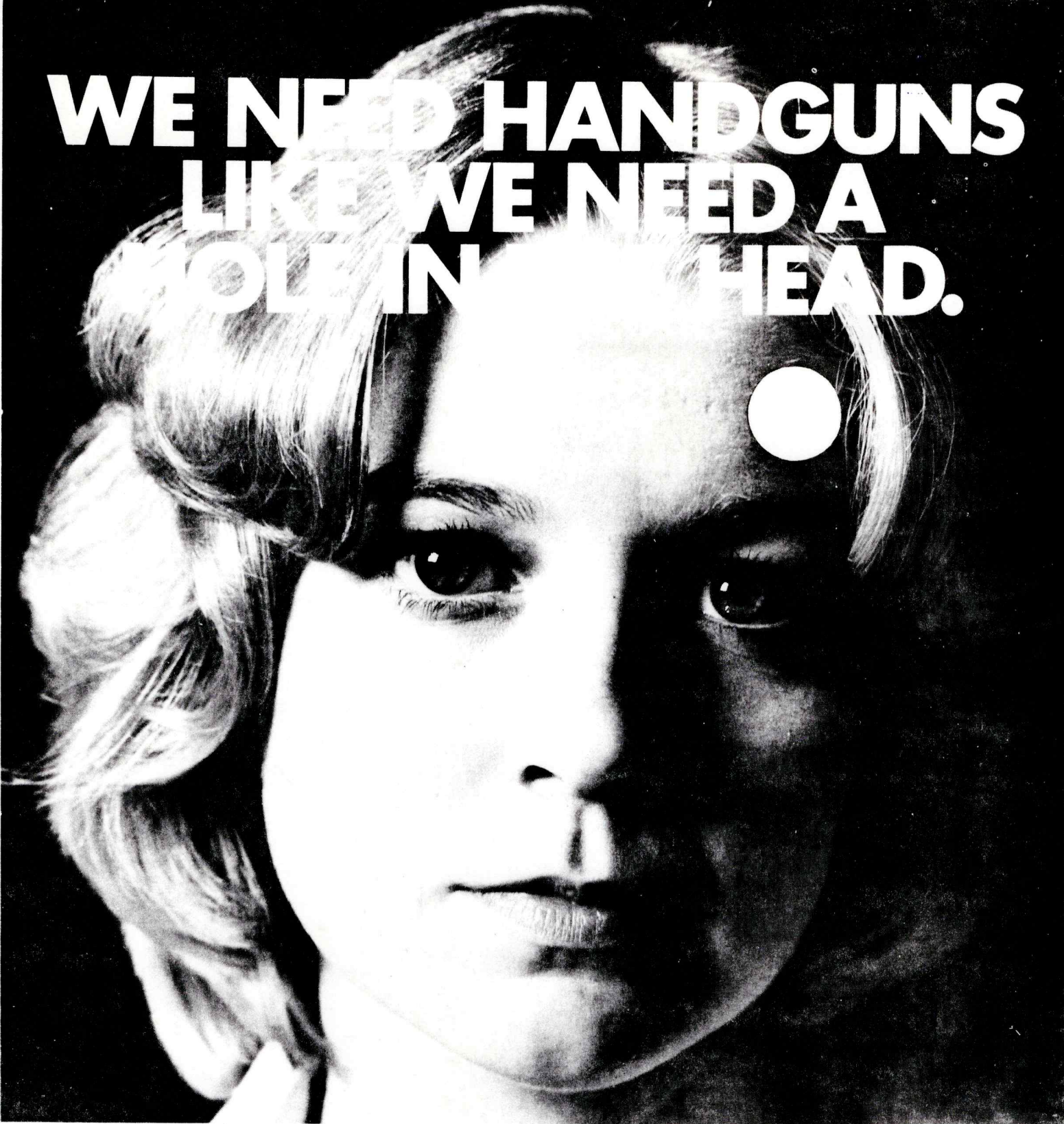


Skip Perry favors crime control.



Webber Borchers would prefer jail to giving up his guns.

WE NEED HANDGUNS LIKE WE NEED A HOLE IN THE HEAD.



That 10,340 people were killed by handguns in 1973 is unsettling enough. But the number has increased to 11,124 in 1974. Nothing is done.

Over 70% of these handgun murders are committed by previously law abiding citizens against people they know. So if you own a handgun to protect yourself against a criminal, the odds are far greater you will kill someone you know, or even love. Yet nothing is done.

Over 200,000 more people a year

are injured, robbed, or raped at the business end of a handgun. Again nothing is done.

Before the end of 1976, almost 3 million new handguns will be added to the 40 million already in circulation. Still nothing is done.

But when 77% of the public want handgun control legislation, as the 1975 Harris Poll states, something must be done.

We need your help to bring handgun facts to the public.

Control Handguns

Please

Contact: THE
COMMITTEE FOR THE
STUDY OF HANDGUN
MISUSE, INC., 23rd
Floor, 111 East Wacker Drive,
Chicago, IL 60601.

An affiliate of the Committee for Hand Gun Control, Inc.

THE SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIAL.



a major cause of heartburn.

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HANDGUN CONTROL

In April, 1975, the delegates at State Convention adopted "a one-year study of handgun control in Illinois and of pending and future legislation pertaining to such control." Our league was not able to find a chairman for this study, and efforts to exchange resource committees with the Lincoln League were not successful. (Our Evaluation of the Role of the Executive for their Handgun Control committee.)

The consensus of opinion reached by Illinois Leagues in the handgun control study appeared in your Illinois Voter for Spring 1976. We have already received a Time for Action from our State League with regard to federal legislation on handguns. Our League could not take official action since we do not have the consensus of our members on this question. This material has been prepared to help you determine whether or not you are in agreement with the State League consensus, and whether or not you want your Board to respond to Times for Action on handgun legislation at the state and national level. Please do read the enclosed material and send back the tear-off at the end. We need your opinion.

From Handgun Control -- Crime Deterrent or Restriction of Rights? LWV/ILLINOIS

Gun control does exist in our society. The question facing us now is: should there be more controls than those we have at present; and should handguns, in particular, be further restricted as a way of diminishing the increasing number of gun deaths and accidents?

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION

Amendment II. "A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

The Chicago-Kent Law Review (Volume 44, Fall 1967) pointed out that "the federal courts have interpreted the right to bear arms very narrowly. The right exists only to the extent that the arms are required for a well-regulated militia... The courts have held that the interests of order and stability must be balanced against the need for revolution, and such interests may outweigh the need for the right of revolution." (See U.S. vs. Cruikshank (1876); Presser vs. Illinois (1886); U.S. vs. Miller (1894); U.S. vs. Adams (1935); U.S. vs. Miller (1939); and Dennis vs. U.S. (1951).)

THE ILLINOIS CONSTITUTION

Article I, Section 22. "subject only to the police power, the right of the individual citizen to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The Constitutional Commentary (Smith Hurd - Annotated Statutes, Constitution of the State of Illinois, Article I, p. 677) states "by referring to 'individual citizen', Section 22 seeks to guarantee an individual right as well as a collective right." However, "the right to keep and bear arms granted by Section 22 is expressly limited by the 'police power'.... It was not the intent of the Convention to invalidate laws requiring the licensing of gun owners, the registration of firearms or the prohibition against carrying concealed weapons ..." This provision of the Constitution has not been interpreted in the courts.

EXISTING LEGISLATION

Federal laws. Responsibility for firearms administration is under the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a separate division of the Department of Treasury.

- 1919 a 10% manufacturing excise tax was placed on firearms.
- 1934 first Federal Firearms Act was passed. Bill provided for the registration of machine guns, short-barrelled and sawed-off rifles and shotguns, mufflers and silencers and concealable firearms - not including pistols. While not prohibiting possession of any of these weapons, the Act imposed a \$200 transfer fee. It also imposed annual taxes on firearms manufacturers, importers and dealers and on the transfer of registered weapons and other equipment.
- 1938 Federal Firearms Act required the licensing of all manufacturers and dealers. The dealer's license cost \$1.00. This law prohibited the transportation of firearms in interstate commerce to a convicted felon or a fugitive from justice. It also prohibited dealers from transporting firearms into states when those states have laws requiring a permit to purchase firearms.
- 1968 Another Federal Gun Control Act was passed. It forbids the interstate and mail-order sale of guns between nondealers and bans importation of all surplus military firearms, as well as generally restricting other imports. It restricts mail-order sales by stating that a gun cannot be sold to an individual who does not appear in person unless he submits a sworn statement which is to be checked by a law enforcement officer. Persons under indictment or convicted of a crime, fugitives from justice, drug addicts, mental deficient, or those who have been committed to a mental institution are not eligible to buy or receive firearms. This act raised the dealer's fee to \$10.

Dealers must fill out a form and swear to the accuracy of the contents, giving biographical information, the place and hours of business and whether they will be open to the public, plus a statement indicating that they have not been charged with an offense calling for imprisonment of a year or more and are not addicted to drugs or alcohol.

The 1968 Federal Gun Control Act banned importation of "Saturday Night Specials", but did not ban the importation of their parts; thus generating a thriving domestic industry in guns assembled domestically. This also has led to guns being modified after importation i.e. shortening of barrels.

(Saturday Night Specials have many definitions which confuse efforts to legislate against them. They have been described sometimes as anything one can buy for less than \$50 of .22, .25, or .32 calibre. The melting point of barrel and receiver metals has been suggested as a means of defining a Saturday Night Special, as well as the over-all length; but the relative terms "cheap", "low grade" and "easily concealed" are often used.)

Illinois laws. In Illinois it is unlawful to possess a machine gun, a sawed-off shotgun, a bomb, a concealed weapon or to use a silencer. Anyone wishing to buy or possess a firearm must be issued an Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Card by the State of Illinois. This card may be obtained for \$5 by an applicant who is more than 21 (or has his parent's or guardian's written consent), has not been convicted of a felony within the last five years, is not addicted to narcotics, has not been a mental patient within the last five years and is not mentally retarded.

Penalties for violation of Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Law: a fine of no more than \$1,000, imprisonment in a penal institution other than a penitentiary not to exceed one year, or both.

In addition, Section 24-3, Chapter 38, Illinois Revised Statutes, bans the sale of Saturday Night Specials in Illinois. Saturday Night Specials are defined as weapons made of metals that melt at 800 degrees Fahrenheit or lower, usually alloy of zinc.

OTHER COUNTRIES

All of the countries of Western Europe, Canada and Japan have strict laws governing the acquiring and use of handguns. All require that the purchaser have permission from the local police and that all firearms and ammunition be kept in a secure place. In England, where the police are only rarely armed, target or sporting use may be considered appropriate, while self defense is usually not. Penalties for misuse are severe in England where possession of a handgun with intent to endanger life or resist arrest may result in life imprisonment. While Switzerland has no federal laws governing handguns, the cantons (states) have a concordat which results in uniform regulations throughout the country... Switzerland requires military training of all its able-bodied men between 20 and 50 and issues each militia man arms and ammunition, carefully recorded, which are kept at home.

From: The Right to Bear Arms, Carl Bakal

Carl Bakal's book, published in 1968, gives some comparative figures on homicides, suicides and accidents due to firearms in various countries of the world. The source of his information was reports and unpublished data from the World Health Organization in Geneva. Keep in mind that these figures refer to 1963, the last year for which data was available in 1968 when the book was published. The table also gives the rate per 100,000 of population.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Homicide</u>		<u>Suicide</u>		<u>Accident</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Rate per 100,000</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Rate per 100,000</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Rate per 100,000</u>
United States	5,126	2.7	9,595	5.1	2,263	1.2
Canada	99	.52	556	2.9	150	.8
England and Wales	24	.05	161	3.34	77	.16
France	584	1.3	777	1.7	265	.56
German Federal Rep.	68	.12	438	.80	93	.17
Italy	351	.70	362	.73	181	.36
Japan	37	.04	93	.10	90	.09
Sweden	8	.11	163	2.1	27	.36

The 1976 U.S. Fact Book, Statistical Abstract of the U.S., as prepared by the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, gives this information on homicides, suicides and accidents in the United States: (Chart 257, p. 155)

<u>Homicides</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1973</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Total</u>	6,269	2,195	13,278	3,570	15,840	4,625
By Firearms and explosives	3,460	1,167	9,209	2,004	11,168	2,584
Percent of total	55.2	53.2	69.4	56.1	70.5	55.9

<u>Suicides</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1973</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Total</u>	14,539	4,572	16,629	6,851	18,108	7,010
By Firearms and explosives	7,879	1,138	9,704	2,068	11,057	2,260
Percent of total	54.2	25.3	58.4	30.2	61.1	32.2

<u>Accidents</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>
<u>Total, all accidents</u>	<u>93,806</u>	<u>114,638</u>	<u>115,821</u>
By type:			
Railway	1,023	852	789
Motor Vehicle	38,137	54,633	55,511
Water Transport	1,478	1,651	1,725
Air Transport	1,475	1,612	1,668
Poisoning	2,932	5,299	5,335
Falls	19,023	16,926	16,506
Fire	7,645	6,718	6,503
Firearms	2,334*(1.3)	2,406 (1.2)	2,618*(1.2)
Industrial	1,391**	5,938	5,883
Drowning	5,232	6,391	6,196
All other - balance	-	-	-

* Rate per 100,000 of population

** Some industrial accidents included in "all other" for 1960.

Firearms: Domestic Production and Imports In thousands. (1)

<u>Domestic Production</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1974</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>1,508</u>	<u>Not available</u>	<u>5,639</u>
By type:			
Handguns	475		1,715
Rifles	469		2,099
Shotguns	564		1,825
<u>Imports for Consumption</u>			
<u>Total</u>	<u>555</u>	<u>826</u>	<u>1,296</u>
By type:			
Handguns	128	227	652
Rifles	402	237	188
Shotguns	125	363	456
<u>Total - Domestic Production and Imports</u>	<u>2,163</u>		<u>6,935</u>

(From Chart 262, p. 154, 1976 U.S. Fact Book)

SOME PROPOSED LEGISLATION

Gun control laws generally fall into two categories - permissive and restrictive. Permissive laws allow the general public to own a gun but subject the owner to various controls and make exception as to who may own a gun (not minors, people convicted of a felony, etc.) Restrictive laws forbid the general public from owning a gun, while making some exceptions for the military, police, security guards and gun clubs.

Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson and Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy have sponsored a bill (S1447) proposing a system of federal registration of guns, plus licensing of owners with minimum state standards.

Illinois Congressman Abner Mikva's proposed bill (HR638) sees banning manufacture, purchase, transfer, receipt, sale, importation and transportation of handguns as a way of eventually eliminating them without banning actual possession. This bill makes exceptions for police officers, military and gun clubs.

Other bills have been introduced which seek to ban possession of handguns with certain exceptions (usually members of the armed forces, law enforcement officials, security officers, and, as authorized, licensed importers, manufacturers, dealers, antique collectors and pistol clubs.)

Incentives suggested for the surrender of handguns are usually some sort of bounty or pay-back system. If the gun owner surrenders his gun, he would be given a tax credit, \$25 or the fair market value of the gun. Norval Morris, professor of criminal law at the University of Chicago, thinks that it would be important that there be regular opportunities for voluntary surrender of firearms, free of the threat of criminal sanction.

Opponents of handgun control argue that efforts should go, not toward controlling handguns, but toward controlling crime, enforcing existing laws and educating citizens in the proper handling of firearms. They feel that further gun controls would merely inconvenience the law-abiding citizen while they would be ignored by the criminal.... They also question whether the handgun control proponent's fear of crime conflicts with concepts of civilian control of the military, leads to search and seizure and stop and frisk, and disregards the right to self-protection. Those opponents also fear that handgun control will be the first step to further controls on all guns. The exception made for police in most proposed legislation raises concerns from some people about police becoming the only armed members of society.

Harlon Carter, Executive Director of the National Rifle Association's Institute for Legislative Action says: "The concept of a militia, of civilians individually possessing and bearing arms and familiar with their use, as opposed to large standing armies, has, since the birth of the Republic, been a substantial bulwark of American liberties."

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF HANDGUN CONTROL

(The questions for the study are included for your information only, to indicate the basis on which the consensus rests. You may answer and return if you wish.)

1. Should handguns be controlled through legislation? (Yes or No)
2. Please tell us your opinions of the following methods of controlling handguns: Please indicate which level or levels of government you believe should legislate those controls (if any) which you support:

Level of government

- (a) banning possession
support ___ oppose ___
- (b) banning manufacture, sale, transportation, importation
support ___ oppose ___
- (c) banning ammunition and components (powder and primers)
support ___ oppose ___
- (d) banning Saturday Night Specials
support ___ oppose ___
- (e) registration
support ___ oppose ___
- (f) licensing
support ___ oppose ___
- (g) permits
support ___ oppose ___
- (h) stricter penalties for handgun crimes
support ___ oppose ___
- (i) mandatory sentences
support ___ oppose ___
- (j) additional regulation of handgun dealers
support ___ oppose ___
- (k) enforcement of existing laws
support ___ oppose ___
- (l) handgun safety education
support ___ oppose ___
- (m) Other. Please explain. _____

Comments:

3. If you favor handgun controls:
 - (a) At which of the following level or levels would you prefer to see legislation?
Federal State County Local
 - (b) At which level or levels would you support legislation?
Federal State County Local
 - (c) Would you support legislation applying only to specific areas of the state, i.e., Cook County, metropolitan areas, "high-crime" areas, "more populated" areas, etc.? Yes ___ No ___

~~PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE, TEAR OFF, AND RETURN TO~~
Mrs. Charles Meyerson, 175 Park Place, 62522, or Mrs. Kenneth Brown, 233
North Woodlawn, 62522.

Position statement of the League of Women Voters of Illinois on the
subject of handgun control:

The League of Women Voters of Illinois believes that the proliferation of
the private ownership of handguns and their irresponsible use must be
controlled through legislation. Therefore, we support a ban on the further
manufacture, sale, transportation and importation for private ownership
of handguns and their parts. We call for a clear statutory definition of
Saturday Night Specials which would make their regulation enforceable.
We support restrictive regulation of all handguns and ammunition, enforce-
ment at all levels of government of existing regulations, strict penalties
for handgun crimes and better regulation of handgun dealers.

We believe that handgun owners must assume complete responsibility for
their handguns. To this end, we support registration of the handgun
itself which will allow it to be traced to its owner. We support com-
prehensive licensing procedures, with gun safety education, fingerprinting,
photographs, plus a verification of the applicant's qualifications, and
a permit system which restricts handgun ownership. The costs of these
programs should be borne by fees paid by the handgun owner sufficient to
cover a careful system which ideally would be administered locally under
federal guidelines. The sale of ammunition should also be regulated.

We support additional penalties and strict enforcement for all crimes
committed with a handgun. All dealers selling handguns must be carefully
regulated to assure that they are legitimate dealers and not merely
persons wishing to have access to interstate shipments. We recommend
higher fees, annual renewal of license, and a thorough investigation of
the dealer and his place of business. The League supports the need for
further controls or elimination of mail order sales and interstate
shipments.

We support handgun safety education only if it is required for owners as
part of the licensing procedures; does not promote or glorify handgun
usage or ownership; and is used to convey the dangers of handgun misuse
and ownership.

The League favors federal legislation governing the use of handguns, but
will support state legislation meeting our criteria. We will not support
state or federal legislation for specific areas only, such as metropolitan
or high crime.

I concur _____ I do not concur _____

I do ___ do not ___ wish the Decatur League of Women Voters to
join in action taken by the League of Women Voters of Illinois
based upon the position above.

Pres. Jete

HANDGUN CONTROL — CRIME DETERRENT OR RESTRICTION OF RIGHTS?



THE DILEMMA

Gun control does exist in our society. The question facing us now is: should there be more controls than those we have at present; and should handguns, in particular, be further restricted as a way of diminishing the increasing number of gun deaths and accidents? While many people will admit to being for reasonable control of handguns, the problem is to establish a national and/or statewide consensus as to what is "reasonable." Sixty-seven percent of the Americans interviewed in a recent Gallup poll said they would favor the registration of all firearms; and polls throughout the years have indicated support of stricter gun controls. However, this same poll showed that while people in the big cities would support the complete banning of possession of handguns, 55 percent of the American public interviewed did not believe that possession should be banned.

Those supporting more controls on the possession of handguns say that the handgun's reason for existence is as an instrument of violence. They point out that there are over 40 million handguns in the United States; that the total is increasing by 2.5 million a year; and that handguns are the weapons in more than half of the murders committed in the United States. According to U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi, about one of every four aggravated assaults and one of every three robberies involves a pistol. Proponents of handgun control argue that the handgun kept for self defense has a psychological value only. According to Ramsey Clark in *Crime In America*, "the average citizen with a gun acting in self defense is a greater danger to himself and innocent people in the vicinity than is the crime he would prevent."

Opponents of handgun control argue that efforts should go, not toward controlling handguns, but toward controlling crime, enforcing existing laws and educating citizens in the proper handling of firearms. They feel that further gun controls would merely inconvenience the law-abiding citizen while they would be ignored by the criminal. They say that even under severe handgun restrictions, criminals, as well as citizens concerned about self protection, would continue to procure handguns; and theft, bootlegging and the production of home-made weapons would thrive. They also question whether the handgun control proponent's fear of crime conflicts with concepts of civilian control of the military, leads to search and seizure and stop and frisk, and disregards the right to self protection. Those opponents also fear that handgun control will be the first step to further controls on all guns.

Those suggesting handgun control point out that they are only concerned about handguns — the easily concealable weapons used in crime — and that to maintain an orderly society, a government must regulate some of its citizens' acts. Rights and freedoms, they point out, cannot exist without recognition that one person's rights exist only to the degree they do not infringe on those of another.

THE CONSTITUTION

In their distrust of a standing army, the early colonists expected every able-bodied man to be part of the militia and to have his own gun and ammunition. Amendment II to the Constitution of the United States says, "A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed." The *Chicago-Kent Law Review* (Volume 44, Fall 1967) points out that "the federal courts have interpreted the right to bear arms very narrowly. The right exists only to the extent that the arms are required for a well-regulated militia . . . The courts have held that the interests of order and stability must be balanced against the need for revolution, and such interests may outweigh the need for the right of revolution." (See *U.S. vs. Cruikshank* (1876); *Presser vs. Illinois* (1886); *U.S. vs. Miller* (1894); *U.S. vs. Adams* (1935); *U.S. vs. Miller* (1939); and *Dennis vs. U.S.* (1951).

The Illinois Constitution, Article I, Section 22, states, "subject only to the police power, the right of the individual citizen to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." This provision has not been interpreted in the courts but goes beyond the federal constitution in granting the right to bear arms to individual citizens. The *Constitutional Commentary* (Smith Hurd — *Annotated Statutes*, Constitution of the State of Illinois, Article 1, p. 677) states "by referring to 'individual citizen,' Section 22 seeks to guarantee an individual right as well as a collective right." However, the *Commentary* also states, "the right to keep and bear arms granted by Section 22 is expressly limited by the 'police power' . . . It was not the intent of the Convention to invalidate laws requiring the licensing of gun owners, the registration of firearms or the prohibition against carrying concealed weapons . . . The Bill of Rights Committee Report which proposed the language adopted by the Convention suggests, however, that laws which attempt to ban all possession or use of firearms would be invalid." This constitutional provision has not yet been tested in court.

OTHER COUNTRIES

All of the countries of Western Europe, Canada and Japan have strict laws governing the acquiring and use of handguns. All require that the purchaser have permission from the local police and that all firearms and ammunition be kept in a secure place. In England, where the police are only rarely armed, target or sporting use may be considered appropriate, while self defense is usually not. Penalties for misuse are severe in England where possession of a handgun with intent to endanger life or resist arrest may result in life imprisonment. While Switzerland has no federal laws governing handguns, the cantons (states) have a concordat which results in uniform regulations throughout the country. In spite of its long position as a nonaligned country, Switzerland requires military training of all its able-bodied men between 20 and 50 and issues each militia man arms and ammunition, carefully recorded, which are kept at home.

WHAT LEVEL OF LEGISLATION?

Most handgun control proponents agree that an effective system of handgun control requires a meshing of state and federal action. They argue, however, that unless handgun control laws are passed at the federal level, there can be no uniformity in application and enforcement; no control of leakage of weapons from state to state; and only limited control over the mails and the market place. The July, 1975 issue of *Crime And Delinquency* noted that a study conducted by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms found that of 2,040 traceable handguns seized during the second half of 1973 in crimes committed in New York City (whose local Sullivan Law is considered one of the strictest), almost half (987) had been bought originally in South Carolina (500), Florida (273) and Georgia (214). These states have lax gun laws.

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, however, stated in its 1973 report that Congress is on record on the subject of firearms and that state and local governments should address the problems surrounding public possession of handguns. The Commission recommended that by January 1, 1983, the following action be taken: the private possession of handguns should be prohibited for all persons other than law enforcement and military personnel, manufacture and sale of handguns should be terminated, existing handguns should be acquired by states, and handguns held by private citizens as collectors' items should be modified and rendered inoperative.

The many local ordinances throughout the United States bear witness to the need felt by some municipalities to deal with their own gun problems.

EXISTING LEGISLATION

In 1919 a 10% manufacturing excise tax was placed on firearms to be administered federally by the Department of the Treasury. Responsibility for firearms administration is now under the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a separate division of the Department of Treasury. Because of

the heavy workload of this department, President Ford recently proposed doubling the number of agents (an additional 500) in this division in the 10 largest cities of the United States.

In 1934 the first Federal Firearms Act was passed. This bill provided for the registration of machine guns, short-barrelled and sawed-off rifles and shotguns, mufflers and silencers and concealable firearms — not including pistols. While not actually prohibiting possession of any of these weapons, the Act imposed a \$200 transfer fee which discouraged commerce in them. It also imposed annual taxes on firearms manufacturers, importers and dealers and on the transfer of registered weapons and other equipment.

The Federal Firearms Act of 1938 required the licensing of all manufacturers and dealers. The dealer's license cost \$1.00. This law prohibited the transportation of firearms in interstate commerce to a convicted felon or a fugitive from justice. It also prohibited dealers from transporting firearms into states when those states have their own laws requiring a permit to purchase firearms.

In 1968 another Federal Gun Control Act was passed. It forbids the interstate and mail-order sale of guns between non dealers and bans importation of all surplus military firearms, as well as generally restricting other imports. It restricts mail-order sales by stating that a gun cannot be sold to an individual who does not appear in person unless he submits a sworn statement which is to be checked by a law enforcement officer. Persons under indictment or convicted of a crime, fugitives from justice, drug addicts, mental deficient, or those who have been committed to a mental institution are not eligible to buy or receive firearms. This act raised the dealer's fee to \$10.

Dealers must fill out a form and swear to the accuracy of the contents, giving biographical information, the place and hours of business and whether they will be open to the public, plus a statement indicating that they have not been charged with an offense calling for imprisonment of a year or more and are not addicted to drugs or alcohol. Chicago Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms representatives state that the ATF runs a field investigation and a criminal records check before issuing the license and a follow-up check to see if the business is being conducted as proposed. The license must be renewed yearly. However, Robert Sherrill in his book *The Saturday Night Special* estimates that 1/2 to 2/3rds of the holders of federal dealers' licenses are not, in fact, bona-fide dealers. President Ford has proposed raising the dealers' license fee high enough to assure only legitimate dealers will apply.

In Illinois it is unlawful to possess a machine gun, a sawed-off shotgun, a bomb, a concealed weapon or to use a silencer. Anyone wishing to buy or possess a firearm must be issued an Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Card by the State of Illinois. This card can be obtained for \$5 by an applicant who is more than 21 (or has his parent's or guardian's written consent), has not been convicted of a felony within the last five years, is not addicted to narcotics, has not been a mental patient within the last five years and is not mentally retarded. Only seven other states

— Hawaii, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York and North Carolina — require a similar license.

The sale of Saturday Night Specials is prohibited in Illinois. The Saturday Night Special is defined in this legislation as a gun with a melting point of 800 degrees.

Many municipalities have their own laws, and more than 20,000 gun ordinances exist in the United States. Gun control laws generally fall into two categories — restrictive and permissive. Restrictive laws forbid the general public from owning a gun, while making some exceptions for the military, police, security guards and gun clubs. Permissive laws allow the general public to own a gun but subject the owner to various controls and make exceptions as to who may own a gun.

METHODS OF LEGISLATION

Saturday Night Specials

Saturday Night Specials have many definitions which confuse efforts to legislate against them. They have been described sometimes as anything one can buy for less than \$50 of .22, .25 or .32 calibre. The melting point of barrel and receiver metals has been suggested as a means of defining a Saturday Night Special, as well as the over-all length; but the relative terms “cheap,” “low grade” and “easily concealed” are often used.

The 1968 Federal Gun Control Act banned importation of these pistols but did not ban the importation of their parts; thus generating a thriving domestic industry in guns assembled domestically, 54% of which, according to the April 13 *New York Times*, would fail import tests. This also has led to guns being modified after importation, i.e. shortening of barrels. President Ford’s call for a federal ban on these weapons, says the *New York Times*, could affect the manufacture of from 20 to even 50% of the handguns being assembled yearly in the U.S. Federal studies have indicated that Saturday Night Specials are responsible for 47% of the gun-related crimes committed in 16 urban areas studied since 1973. Besides the concern that banning Saturday Night Specials might be only a half-way measure, since those who want a handgun will simply turn to a better, more expensive weapon, is the concern that it is discriminatory to ban possession of handguns only among those too poor to afford a more expensive weapon.

Increased Penalties

More stringent penalties for gun crimes, stricter enforcement of existing laws and mandatory sentences are often suggested as deterrents to gun crimes. Massachusetts has had in effect since April 1, 1975 a handgun control law requiring a year in jail for anyone carrying an unregistered handgun, rifle or shotgun away from his or her home or place of business. The law provides for no probation, parole, furlough or time off for good behavior until the first year has been served.

Prior to 1970, Illinois had an Habitual Criminal Act which required imprisonment for repeated offenders without the usual parole provisions. Now, however, Section 11 of the Bill of Rights of the Illinois Constitution states, “All penalties shall be determined both according to the serious-

ness of the offense and with the objective of restoring the offender to useful citizenship.” Section 9 states, “all persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses where the proof is evident or the presumption great.” These provisions raise problems with mandatory sentencing which can be criticized as legislative interference with judicial prerogative, increasing length of prison sentences, increasing prison population and interfering with the process of parole. Also, there are concerns about plea bargaining (which is specifically forbidden in the Massachusetts legislation) and the willingness of law enforcement people to look the other way rather than to enforce a mandatory sentence. Thus there can be a clash between those arguing for the deterrent effect of strict penalties and those urging reforms in the criminal justice system.

Registration, Permits, Licensing

President Ford said in June, 1975 that he is “unalterably opposed to federal registration of guns or the licensing of gun owners.” However, those like Illinois Congressman Robert McClory who suggest gun registration point out that it would provide a uniform system through which handguns may be traced to the legitimate owner. Franklin E. Zimring, a professor at the University of Chicago, points out that without registration “some of the ‘good guys’ would otherwise pass on guns through the second-hand market to ‘bad guys’ and thus frustrate permissive licensing. If registration helped to keep the good guys good, it could help prevent gun violence.”

Critics say that a registration system would only create an expensive bureaucracy and that a registered handgun can kill as effectively as an unregistered handgun. Robert Kukla says in his book *Gun Control*, “The forces of gun control — a euphemism for confiscation — have not been deterred by the historical evidence that prohibitions of such a nature as this are simply unworkable and unfair in a generally free society . . . Registration of firearms — an indispensable first step to the confiscation — discriminates against the decent people who comply . . . Thus while deceiving the people, it distracts their attention from the real problems of crime and diverts money and manpower which should be applied to their solutions.”

Foes of gun registration systems also point to the *Haynes vs. U.S.* decision in 1968 which ruled that a felon possessing a firearm illegally could not be prosecuted for failing to register it under the National Firearms Act, since to do so would be an admission of the illegal possession and, therefore, forced self-incrimination and in violation of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson and Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy have sponsored a bill (S1447) proposing a system of federal registration of guns, plus licensing of owners with minimum state standards.

Many communities such as Chicago and Addison, Illinois require a permit from the Superintendent of Police in order to purchase a gun. Opponents point to the danger of allowing the final decision as to who is worthy of owning a handgun to rest with the police and, further, point out that

in such a system those with political clout will have an advantage.

Licenses to buy or possess are a way of identifying persons not qualified, in the opinion of the state, to own a gun. Questions raised about the Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Card are whether the background of the person filling out the application is checked sufficiently and whether a yearly renewal should be required. New York City's Sullivan Law requires that the applicant's background be investigated, that he be fingerprinted as well as photographed, that he show a good reason for possessing a gun and that there be a waiting period (or "cooling off" period) of a few weeks. According to Neal Knox of *Rifle Magazine*, a 1968 study showed that the administration of the Sullivan Law cost the City of New York \$72.87 for each license processed.

Manufacture, Sale, Importation, Transportation

Illinois Congressman Abner Mikva's proposed bill (HR 638) sees banning manufacture, purchase, transfer, receipt, sale, importation and transportation of handguns as a way of eventually eliminating them without banning actual possession. Professor Franklin E. Zimring points out that if such a bill took effect next year, some of the guns made last year might still be killing people in the 21st Century. However, such a ban, proponents feel, would make new guns unavailable and make it less easy for young people to acquire guns. This bill makes exceptions for police officers, military and gun clubs. The exception made for police in most proposed legislation raises concerns from some people about police becoming the only armed member of society.

Banning the Possession and Ownership of Handguns

Many people feel that the only solution to the problem of handgun violence is to ban possession altogether. Illinois State Representative Leland Rayson's bill (HB 1134) in the 79th General Assembly, those of New York Congressman Jonathan Bingham (HR 40) and Washington, D. C. Representative Walter Fauntroy (HR 2313) in the U.S. Congress, as well as such interested groups as the National Council to Control Handguns and Chicago's Civic Disarmament Committee and Norval Morris, professor of criminal law at the University of Chicago, all seek to ban possession of handguns with certain exceptions (usually members of the armed forces, law enforcement officials, security officers, and, as authorized, licensed importers, manufacturers, dealers, antique collectors and pistol clubs.)

The incentive offered for the surrender of handguns is usually some sort of bounty or pay-back system. If the gun owner surrenders his gun, he would be given a tax credit, \$25 or the fair market value of the gun. Morris suggests paying prices slightly in excess of the market rate, saying that the extra cost to the public would be less than the cost of the current gun slaughter. He thinks that it is important that there be regular opportunities for voluntary surrender of firearms, free of the threat of criminal sanction. Bingham sets a time limit of 180 days for obtaining reimbursement,

but owners could still turn in their pistols voluntarily without risking criminal prosecution.

One of the first reimbursement programs was tried on a city level in Baltimore, Maryland. In September, 1974 under a program called Operation PASS (People Against Senseless Shooting), Police Commissioner Pomerleau set a \$50 bounty for every working firearm turned into police, plus \$100 bonus for any tip leading to the seizure of an illegal weapon. After seven days \$330,000 was paid out for 7,095 firearms. According to *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1975 this program collected 12,000 guns which represents 10% of the firearms in Baltimore, a city of one million people.

The 1975 edition of the National Rifle Association's *Firearms & Laws Review* comments on the Baltimore program and points out that when Mr. Pomerleau asked the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for more funding, the LEAA general counsel, Thomas E. Madden, pointed to the presence of the profit motive in such a program saying, "the program seeks to control and reduce in number a commodity, guns, when the possession, manufacture, sale and use of these guns is clearly authorized by law, and when this commodity can be replenished without limitation."

Does banning possession of handguns infringe on the civil liberties of the citizenry? Representative Rayson does not think so and points out that an individual has the right to a healthful environment, as stated in the Illinois Constitution. Supporters point out that fairly reimbursing the owner is nothing different from any other act of eminent domain and that searches for handguns would necessitate legal search warrants.

Anti-handgun control forces strongly disagree. They feel that their right to defend themselves and their homes would be impaired. They also anticipate stop and frisk procedures and fear that homes would be entered and searched for weapons with warrants issued on grounds not clearly established by probable cause.

Congressman Mikva points out that his reason for not including a ban on possession in his bill is that it would put police officers in the position of having to enter people's homes in order to seize guns, causing deaths and injuries to the officers.

The Committee for Handgun Control, based in Chicago, supports strong handgun controls, but not the banning of possession, although they have supported banning possession of ammunition which would, in their opinion, eventually put handguns out of action.

CONCLUSION

No one is optimistic enough to believe that handgun control would be a panacea for crime control, but we must decide if more controls on handguns could be one way of limiting the violence in our society. We need to determine what we give up and what we gain by the proposed methods of control and to determine which, if any of them, we see as a benefit worthy of the restrictions which would be imposed.

July, 1976

HANDGUN CONTROL

In April, 1975, the delegates at State Convention adopted "a one-year study of handgun control in Illinois and of pending and future legislation pertaining to such control." Our league was not able to find a chairman for this study, and efforts to exchange resource committees with the Lincoln League were not successful. (Our Evaluation of the Role of the Executive for their Handgun Control committee.)

The consensus of opinion reached by Illinois Leagues in the handgun control study appeared in your Illinois Voter for Spring 1976. We have already received a Time for Action from our State League with regard to federal legislation on handguns. Our League could not take official action since we do not have the consensus of our members on this question. This material has been prepared to help you determine whether or not you are in agreement with the State League consensus, and whether or not you want your Board to respond to Times for Action on handgun legislation at the state and national level. Please do read the enclosed material and send back the tear-off at the end. We need your opinion.

From Handgun Control -- Crime Deterrent or Restriction of Rights? LWV/ILLINOIS

Gun control does exist in our society. The question facing us now is: should there be more controls than those we have at present; and should handguns, in particular, be further restricted as a way of diminishing the increasing number of gun deaths and accidents?

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION

Amendment II. "A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed."

- 1 The Chicago-Kent Law Review (Volume 44, Fall 1967) pointed out that "the federal courts have interpreted the right to bear arms very narrowly. The right exists only to the extent that the arms are required for a well-regulated militia... The courts have held that the interests of order and stability must be balanced against the need for revolution, and such interests may outweigh the need for the right of revolution." (See U.S. vs. Cruikshank (1876); Presser vs. Illinois (1886); U.S. vs. Miller (1894); U.S. vs. Adams (1935); U.S. vs. Miller (1939); and Dennis vs. U.S. (1951).)

THE ILLINOIS CONSTITUTION

Article I, Section 22. "subject only to the police power, the right of the individual citizen to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

The Constitutional Commentary (Smith Hurd - Annotated Statutes, Constitution of the State of Illinois, Article I, p. 677) states "by referring to 'individual citizen', Section 22 seeks to guarantee an individual right as well as a collective right." However, "the right to keep and bear arms granted by Section 22 is expressly limited by the 'police power'.... It was not the intent of the Convention to invalidate laws requiring the licensing of gun owners, the registration of firearms or the prohibition against carrying concealed weapons ..." This provision of the Constitution has not been interpreted in the courts.

EXISTING LEGISLATION

Federal laws. Responsibility for firearms administration is under the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a separate division of the Department of Treasury.

- 1919 a 10% manufacturing excise tax was placed on firearms.
- 1934 first Federal Firearms Act was passed. Bill provided for the registration of machine guns, short-barrelled and sawed-off rifles and shotguns, mufflers and silencers and concealable firearms - not including pistols. While not prohibiting possession of any of these weapons, the Act imposed a \$200 transfer fee. It also imposed annual taxes on firearms manufacturers, importers and dealers and on the transfer of registered weapons and other equipment.
- 1938 Federal Firearms Act required the licensing of all manufacturers and dealers. The dealer's license cost \$1.00. This law prohibited the transportation of firearms in interstate commerce to a convicted felon or a fugitive from justice. It also prohibited dealers from transporting firearms into states when those states have laws requiring a permit to purchase firearms.
- 1968 Another Federal Gun Control Act was passed. It forbids the interstate and mail-order sale of guns between nondealers and bans importation of all surplus military firearms, as well as generally restricting other imports. It restricts mail-order sales by stating that a gun cannot be sold to an individual who does not appear in person unless he submits a sworn statement which is to be checked by a law enforcement officer. Persons under indictment or convicted of a crime, fugitives from justice, drug addicts, mental deficient, or those who have been committed to a mental institution are not eligible to buy or receive firearms. This act raised the dealer's fee to \$10.

Dealers must fill out a form and swear to the accuracy of the contents, giving biographical information, the place and hours of business and whether they will be open to the public, plus a statement indicating that they have not been charged with an offense calling for imprisonment of a year or more and are not addicted to drugs or alcohol.

The 1968 Federal Gun Control Act banned importation of "Saturday Night Specials", but did not ban the importation of their parts; thus generating a thriving domestic industry in guns assembled domestically. This also has led to guns being modified after importation i.e. shortening of barrels.

(Saturday Night Specials have many definitions which confuse efforts to legislate against them. They have been described sometimes as anything one can buy for less than \$50 of .22, .25, or .32 calibre. The melting point of barrel and receiver metals has been suggested as a means of defining a Saturday Night Special, as well as the over-all length; but the relative terms "cheap", "low grade" and "easily concealed" are often used.)

Illinois laws. In Illinois it is unlawful to possess a machine gun, a sawed-off shotgun, a bomb, a concealed weapon or to use a silencer. Anyone wishing to buy or possess a firearm must be issued an Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Card by the State of Illinois. This card may be obtained for \$5 by an applicant who is more than 21 (or has his parent's or guardian's written consent), has not been convicted of a felony within the last five years, is not addicted to narcotics, has not been a mental patient within the last five years and is not mentally retarded.

Penalties for violation of Illinois Firearm Owner's Identification Law: a fine of no more than \$1,000, imprisonment in a penal institution other than a penitentiary not to exceed one year, or both.

In addition, Section 24-3, Chapter 38, Illinois Revised Statutes, bans the sale of Saturday Night Specials in Illinois. Saturday Night Specials are defined as weapons made of metals that melt at 800 degrees Fahrenheit or lower, usually alloy of zinc.

OTHER COUNTRIES

All of the countries of Western Europe, Canada and Japan have strict laws governing the acquiring and use of handguns. All require that the purchaser have permission from the local police and that all firearms and ammunition be kept in a secure place. In England, where the police are only rarely armed, target or sporting use may be considered appropriate, while self defense is usually not. Penalties for misuse are severe in England where possession of a handgun with intent to endanger life or resist arrest may result in life imprisonment. While Switzerland has no federal laws governing handguns, the cantons (states) have a concordat which results in uniform regulations throughout the country... Switzerland requires military training of all its able-bodied men between 20 and 50 and issues each militia man arms and ammunition, carefully recorded, which are kept at home.

From: The Right to Bear Arms, Carl Bakal

Carl Bakal's book, published in 1968, gives some comparative figures on homicides, suicides and accidents due to firearms in various countries of the world. The source of his information was reports and unpublished data from the World Health Organization in Geneva. Keep in mind that these figures refer to 1963, the last year for which data was available in 1968 when the book was published. The table also gives the rate per 100,000 of population.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Homicide</u>		<u>Suicide</u>		<u>Accident</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Rate per 100,000</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Rate per 100,000</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Rate per 100,000</u>
United States	5,126	2.7	9,595	5.1	2,263	1.2
Canada	99	.52	556	2.9	150	.8
England and Wales	24	.05	362	1.34	77	.16
France	584	1.3	777	1.7	265	.56
German Federal Rep.	68	.12	438	.80	93	.17
Italy	351	.70	362	.73	181	.36
Japan	37	.04	93	.10	90	.09
Sweden	8	.11	163	2.1	27	.36

The 1976 U.S. Fact Book, Statistical Abstract of the U.S., as prepared by the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, gives this information on homicides, suicides and accidents in the United States: (Chart 257, p. 155)

<u>Homicides</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1973</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Total</u>	6,269	2,195	13,278	3,570	15,840	4,625
By Firearms and explosives	3,460	1,167	9,209	2,004	11,168	2,584
Percent of total	55.2	53.2	69.4	56.1	70.5	55.9

<u>Suicides</u>	<u>1960</u>		<u>1970</u>		<u>1973</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
<u>Total</u>	14,539	4,572	16,629	6,851	18,108	7,010
By Firearms and explosives	7,879	1,138	9,704	2,068	11,057	2,260
Percent of total	54.2	25.3	58.4	30.2	61.1	32.2

<u>Accidents</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1973</u>
<u>Total, all accidents</u>	<u>93,806</u>	<u>114,638</u>	<u>115,821</u>
By type:			
Railway	1,023	852	789
Motor Vehicle	38,137	54,633	55,511
Water Transport	1,478	1,651	1,725
Air Transport	1,475	1,612	1,668
Poisoning	2,932	5,299	5,335
Falls	19,023	16,926	16,506
Fire	7,645	6,718	6,503
<u>Firearms</u>	<u>2,334*(1.3)</u>	<u>2,406</u> (1.2)	<u>2,618*(1.2)</u>
Industrial	1,391 **	5,968	5,883
Drowning	5,232	6,391	6,196
All other -- balance	-	-	-

* Rate per 100,000 of population

** Some industrial accidents included in "all other" for 1960.

Firearms: Domestic Production and Imports In thousands. (!)

<u>Domestic Production</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1974</u>
Total	<u>1,508</u>	Not available	<u>5,639</u>
By type:			
Handguns	475		1,715
Rifles	469		2,099
Shotguns	564		1,825
<u>Imports for Consumption</u>			
Total	<u>655</u>	<u>826</u>	<u>1,296</u>
By type:			
Handguns	128	227	652
Rifles	402	237	188
Shotguns	125	363	456
<u>Total -- Domestic Pro-</u> <u>duction and Imports</u>	<u>2,163</u>		<u>6,935</u>

(From Chart 262, p. 156, 1976 U.S. Fact Book)

SOME PROPOSED LEGISLATION

Gun control laws generally fall into two categories - permissive and restrictive. Permissive laws allow the general public to own a gun but subject the owner to various controls and make exception as to who may own a gun (not minors, people convicted of a felony, etc.) Restrictive laws forbid the general public from owning a gun, while making some exceptions for the military, police, security guards and gun clubs.

Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson and Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy have sponsored a bill (S1447) proposing a system of federal registration of guns, plus licensing of owners with minimum state standards.

Illinois Congressman Abner Mikva's proposed bill (HR638) sees banning manufacture, purchase, transfer, receipt, sale, importation and transportation of handguns as a way of eventually eliminating them without banning actual possession. This bill makes exceptions for police officers, military and gun clubs.

Other bills have been introduced which seek to ban possession of handguns with certain exceptions (usually members of the armed forces, law enforcement officials, security officers, and, as authorized, licensed importers, manufacturers, dealers, antique collectors and pistol clubs.)

Incentives suggested for the surrender of handguns are usually some sort of bounty or pay-back system. If the gun owner surrenders his gun, he would be given a tax credit, \$25 or the fair market value of the gun. Norval Morris, professor of criminal law at the University of Chicago, thinks that it would be important that there be regular opportunities for voluntary surrender of firearms, free of the threat of criminal sanction.

Opponents of handgun control argue that efforts should go, not toward controlling handguns, but toward controlling crime, enforcing existing laws and educating citizens in the proper handling of firearms. They feel that further gun controls would merely inconvenience the law-abiding citizen while they would be ignored by the criminal.... They also question whether the handgun control proponent's fear of crime conflicts with concepts of civilian control of the military, leads to search and seizure and stop and frisk, and disregards the right to self-protection. Those opponents also fear that handgun control will be the first step to further controls on all guns. The exception made for police in most proposed legislation raises concerns from some people about police becoming the only armed members of society.

Harlon Carter, Executive Director of the National Rifle Association's Institute for Legislative Action says: "The concept of a militia, of civilians individually possessing and bearing arms and familiar with their use, as opposed to large standing armies, has, since the birth of the Republic, been a substantial bulwark of American liberties."

CONSENSUS QUESTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF HANDGUN CONTROL

(The questions for the study are included for your information only, to indicate the basis on which the consensus rests. You may answer and return if you wish.)

1. Should handguns be controlled through legislation? (Yes or No)
2. Please tell us your opinions of the following methods of controlling handguns: Please indicate which level or levels of government you believe should legislate those controls (if any) which you support:

Level of government

- (a) banning possession
support ___ oppose ___
- (b) banning manufacture, sale, transportation,
importation support ___ oppose ___
- (c) banning ammunition and components
(powder and primers) support ___ oppose ___
- (d) banning Saturday Night Specials
support ___ oppose ___
- (e) registration
support ___ oppose ___
- (f) licensing
support ___ oppose ___
- (g) permits
support ___ oppose ___
- (h) stricter penalties for handgun crimes
support ___ oppose ___
- (i) mandatory sentences
support ___ oppose ___
- (j) additional regulation of handgun dealers
support ___ oppose ___
- (k) enforcement of existing laws
support ___ oppose ___
- (l) handgun safety education
support ___ oppose ___
- (m) Other. Please explain. _____

Comments:

3. If you favor handgun controls:
 - (a) At which of the following level or levels would you prefer to see legislation?
Federal State County Local
 - (b) At which level or levels would you support legislation?
Federal State County Local
 - (c) Would you support legislation applying only to specific areas of the state, i.e., Cook County, metropolitan areas, "high-crime" areas, "more populated" areas, etc.? Yes ___ No ___

PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE, TEAR OFF, AND RETURN TO Mrs. Charles Meyerson, 175 Park Place, 62522, or Mrs. Kenneth Brown, 233 North Woodlawn, 62522.

Position statement of the League of Women Voters of Illinois on the subject of handgun control:

The League of Women Voters of Illinois believes that the proliferation of the private ownership of handguns and their irresponsible use must be controlled through legislation. Therefore, we support a ban on the further manufacture, sale, transportation and importation for private ownership of handguns and their parts. We call for a clear statutory definition of Saturday Night Specials which would make their regulation enforceable. We support restrictive regulation of all handguns and ammunition, enforcement at all levels of government of existing regulations, strict penalties for handgun crimes and better regulation of handgun dealers.

We believe that handgun owners must assume complete responsibility for their handguns. To this end, we support registration of the handgun itself which will allow it to be traced to its owner. We support comprehensive licensing procedures, with gun safety education, fingerprinting, photographs, plus a verification of the applicant's qualifications, and a permit system which restricts handgun ownership. The costs of these programs should be borne by fees paid by the handgun owner sufficient to cover a careful system which ideally would be administered locally under federal guidelines. The sale of ammunition should also be regulated.

We support additional penalties and strict enforcement for all crimes committed with a handgun. All dealers selling handguns must be carefully regulated to assure that they are legitimate dealers and not merely persons wishing to have access to interstate shipments. We recommend higher fees, annual renewal of license, and a thorough investigation of the dealer and his place of business. The League supports the need for further controls or elimination of mail order sales and interstate shipments.

We support handgun safety education only if it is required for owners as part of the licensing procedures; does not promote or glorify handgun useage or ownership; and is used to convey the dangers of handgun misuse and ownership.

The League favors federal legislation governing the use of handguns, but will support state legislation meeting our criteria. We will not support state or federal legislation for specific areas only, such as metropolitan or high crime.

I concur _____ I do not concur _____

I do ___ do not ___ wish the Decatur League of Women Voters to join in action taken by the League of Women Voters of Illinois based upon the position above.